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EAGLEBURGER'S TRIP LINKED TO NEUTRON BOMB SITING

LD182008 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 18 Feb 81

["Using the Levers of NATO"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb, TASS--TASS political news analyst Vladimir Goncharov writes:

Reporting about the current trip to the Western European countries by the Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, the press of these countries points out that one of the aims of the diplomat from Washington is to discuss the question of deploying neutron weapons in the territory of the U.S. partners in NATO.

As is known, the question was the main topic of the first public statement by the new U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger who criticised the Carter administration for allegedly halting the program for the development of neutron weapons, and made it clearly understood that the current U.S. administration will work to obtain the consent of the leaders of Western European countries for the deployment of these weapons.

Noting that at that time the State Department hastened to disavow the statements by the secretary of defense stressing that Weinberger was only expressing his personal point of view. This was clearly due to the rapid and highly negative response of the public, the press of a whole number of prominent political figures and even members of governments of some of the Western European states to that allegedly "personal" initiative of the Pentagon chief. It goes without saying, that already at that time it was quite clear that the act of disavowing was only a manoeuvre, and the current trip by Eagleburger to Western Europe bears this out. The trip shows that the United States intends to resume laying siege to its partners and to try to obtain from them something in which the Carter administration had failed in 1978 for reasons independent of its will.

The chief of these reasons was, as is known the broad movement of protest of the peoples of Western European countries which saw in the U.S. plans the threat of a sharpening of the situation in the world and especially on the European Continent, and of drawing it into a new spiral of the arms race. That movement had at that time influenced the position of the official circles of the Western European countries with regard to the neutron bomb.

Judging by reports of West European press, Eagleburger's mission includes discussing the "neutron" topic not only in Western European capitals but also in the NATO headquarters in Brussels. As regards the leaders of that military bloc, their position has long been known: Let us recall for instance that back in 1978 the then Supreme Commander of the Allied NATO Forces in Europe (the present U.S. Secretary of State) Alexander Haig told the U.S. Senate about NATO's positive attitude to deploying neutron bombs in Western Europe. That is why it is clear that the aim of Eagleburger's discussions in Europe is not to "persuade" the NATO generals. It is natural to assume a different thing, namely that at issue is probably the need to persuade the leaders of that military alliance to "pressure", for their own part, the governments of Western European countries and to help Washington to implement its dangerous plans despite the resistance of the partners.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA SCORES U.S. FOR ARMS TALKS IMPASSE

LD181741 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 81 p 3

[S. Tarov article under the rubric "Policy--The Peoples' Security": "Constructive Initiatives"]

[Excerpt] The limitation of strategic nuclear missile arms enjoys pride of place among the measures to prevent nuclear war. The success of this matter, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has emphasized, is at the heart of all international security.

The Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of ABM systems and the interim agreement on measures in the sphere of strategic offensive arms limitation (SALT I) were a considerable success in this sphere. The next step on this path was the drafting and signing in Vienna in June 1979 of the SALT II treaty. It dealt not only with quantitative but also with qualitative indicators of strategic arms limitation. It was natural to consider that a new milestone had been reached on the difficult path to nuclear disarmament.

The SALT II treaty was the result of a 7-year quest for a mutually acceptable and carefully weighed balance of both countries' interests. Strict observance of the principle of equality and identical security made it possible to reach mutual agreement. The significance of this document far transcends the interests of the two countries. This is why it has won general approval on all the world's continents.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it highly values the SALT II treaty and is prepared to observe all its provisions unconditionally. The former American administration behaved differently. It did not simply yield to the solicitations of the treaty's opponents but in point of fact headed a campaign for foreign policy positions to be revised in the interests of U.S. militarist circles.

The change in Washington's policy had long been in the making. As early as 1977 Brzezinski, Carter's closest aide, had declared with cynical frankness that nuclear war was not so terrible since no more than 10 percent of mankind would perish in it. Right up to the last day of its stay in the White House the Carter administration pursued a dangerous foreign policy course and did everything to ensure that the new administration would take over the baton of militarism and carry it further. The day before R. Reagan's inauguration former Defense Secretary H. Brown delivered a report in which he essentially tried to persuade his successor C. Weinberger to spare no money or effort in feverish military preparations, the rejection of which, he said, threatened the death of 165 million Americans in a nuclear conflict.

The years of the Carter administration were marked by an unprecedented scale of arms race. The creation of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, such as cruise missiles, mobile MX ICBM's and the Trident submarine nuclear missile system, proceeded at full tilt and is continuing now. Work is being speeded up on the creation of laser weapons and so forth.

The militarist "boom" is accompanied by an unbridled anti-Soviet ballyhoo. Intimidating all and sundry with the mythical "Soviet military threat," Carter signed the notorious Directive 59, which in point of fact propagandizes the possibility of a "limited nuclear war." This directive is incompatible with the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, the interim SALT I agreement and the SALT II treaty. It makes it irresponsibly easy to adopt the decision to use nuclear weapons and thereby increases the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. Attempts are being made to suggest to the public that these weapons are almost akin to conventional weapons and that nuclear strikes will be made only on "selected" targets and even "under strict control." In all this no secret is made of the fact that it is a question of a "forestalling"--that is, first--nuclear strike.

Is it not clear to everyone that the first will inevitably be followed by a counter-strike, resulting in nuclear escalation with unpredictable disastrous consequences for all mankind? Even the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, whose leaders can in no way be suspected of sympathizing with the socialist countries, points out that "regional limitation" of nuclear war is impossible.

The spinning of the flywheel of the strategic arms race, the rejection of the SALT II treaty, the adoption of Directive 59, the Reagan administration's intention to increase the Pentagon's budget still further and many other dangerous actions are all graphic evidence of the desire to secure U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Strategic parity as a factor of mutual deterrence, a clear understanding of which makes the strategic arms limitation process possible, does not suit those people in America who are closely linked with the military-industrial complex, those people who campaign for the "from a position of strength" policy and for increased might, which, so new U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig has declared, is a factor guaranteeing diplomatic success. Hence their categorical refusal to impose any restraint on military preparations and their ostentatious emphasis on their "lack of interest" in arms limitation talks.

As regards the statements by representatives of the new Washington administration about certain "fundamental shortcomings" in the SALT II treaty, their groundlessness is so obvious that it is admitted even in the ruling circles of the majority of West European NATO countries. The hopes of revising the SALT II treaty with a view to the United States' securing one-sided military advantages are, to put it bluntly, not realistic.

Washington pursues a similar policy in Europe, where the concentration of troops and military hardware is already many times higher than the average for the whole world and where any military conflict is fraught with the danger of escalating into a world thermonuclear war. At the same time as the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies try hard to maintain the equilibrium of forces on the European Continent at the lowest possible level, NATO adopts the decision under U.S. pressure to deploy 572 American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries. The aims are the same as before: to undermine detente and achieve military superiority. Many public organizations and prominent politicians in West European countries are now proclaiming the danger of such a venture. They are calling for the NATO decision on the American "Euromissiles" to be reconsidered.

In the atmosphere of the new hostile propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union which has been mounted in the United States, attempts are being made once again to impose on certain West European countries the deployment of the barbarous neutron weapon on their territory. The American administration is nurturing sinister plans to return the world to cold war times.

The policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries aimed at curbing the arms race and strengthening international security meets with broad international public support. The peace program elaborated by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses is a clear and distinct alternative to Washington's "position of strength" policy and its policy of fueling tension, to the new twist in the arms race spiral being undertaken by the present administration and to all the other dangerous actions which create alarm throughout the world, even among sober-minded politicians in NATO countries. The peoples need lasting peace and security, as provided for in the Soviet peace initiatives. Not dangerous confrontation but common concerted efforts by all countries aimed at preserving and strengthening the relaxation of international tension--this is the essence of the Soviet Union's peace-loving Leninist course.

PRAVDA REVIEWS U.S. POLICIES, NONALIGNED MEETING

LD811205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 81 p 4

[Vladimir Bolshakov, "International Review"]

[Text] Only 8 days remain until the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress. The foreign mass media, analyzing the congresses which have been held by the USSR union republics' communist parties and the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's draft for the 26th congress, "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990." Note: The CPSU's domestic and foreign policy implemented by its Central Committee headed by I.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, enjoys the unanimous support of the whole party and the whole people.

Two Worlds--Two Policies

The program for the next 5-year plan and the next decade with which the Soviet Union's communists are approaching their congress is a program of peaceful creation. Commenting on the draft Basic Guidelines, the world press notes that the draft is directed toward further growth in the Soviet economy. The changes for which the draft provides in the structure of production serve to improve the people's living standards. The USSR's economic policy sets itself the goal of the country's harmonious and stable development. "The CPSU is convinced," the Polish paper TRYBUNA LUDU writes, "that the economic potential which the USSR now has at its disposal gives every guarantee of that fulfillment of tasks aimed at the increasingly full satisfaction of society's requirements."

The world press regards as convincing evidence of the depth and effectiveness of Soviet democracy the course of the nationwide discussion of the Basic Guidelines, noting that the CPSU and all the Soviet people are oriented toward peaceful building, and therefore concern for peace and detente is a priority task for the Soviet state and its ruling party.

Foreign commentators direct special attention to the fact that the draft Basic Guidelines make provision for further improving the machinery of collaboration among the socialist community countries in the sphere of the economy and for deepening socialist integration. Representatives of Western business circles see new potential in the draft for developing business cooperation with the USSR and prerequisites for strengthening the material fabric of detente.

The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives, which were fully supported by the participants in the pregress party forums and met with a broad response in the international arena, convincingly prove that the USSR has been and remains the standardbearer of peace and human rights and freedoms and the reliable prop of forces fighting to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and for social progress and national liberation.

"Optimism and confidence"--that is how the progressive world press characterized Soviet people's nationwide preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress--preparations marked by tremendous political and labor enthusiasm and by the unity and cohesion of the party and people.

The world press describes in opposite terms--"pessimism and despondency"--the sentiments prevailing in the world of capital. Not a day goes by in the West without the appearance of economic predictions each more gloomy than the last. Their dominant theme is the economic recession. The world of capital expects a new upsurge in inflation and prices and a further increase in the army of unemployed, which will reach 25.5 million people this year in the OECD countries alone--that includes the Common Market countries, the United States, Canada and Japan.

The ruling circles in the world of capital, as always, seek a way out of crises at the working people's expense. Commenting on the new U.S. administration's plans, THE DAILY WORLD writes that the measures proposed by President Reagan's economists envisage: "a wage freeze, the abandonment of housing construction and cutbacks in all social programs, including social security and particularly programs for aid to pensioners, expenditure on medical assistance and medical services, unemployment allowances and compensation in the event of loss of ability to work, and so forth--that is, all programs which affect the poor."

Confrontation or Cooperation?

The lifting of practically all controls on prices and the activity of big business proclaimed by the new administration also coincides with the policy of giving the "green light" to the military-industrial complex, which is eager for a new, uncontrolled twist to the arms race spiral.

"The 'industrial' sector of the military-industrial complex," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR writes, "will inevitably call for the arms which promise the biggest dividends to shareholders." This is not simply a prediction. American newspapers report that U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger has already "submitted recommendations to increase the Pentagon Budget for 1981 to \$177.6 billion, and for 1982 to \$221.4 billion."

This stepping up of the stake on militarism cannot be explained solely by the desire to "gratify" the military-industrial complex. The new administration is clearly setting a course toward achieving military superiority and introducing "strength factors" into relations with the socialist countries. It is no accident that NEWSWEEK magazine, commenting on the first foreign policy statements by President Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State Haig, observed: "All this brings to mind the image of John Foster Dulles and memories of the cold war." NEWSWEEK's keenness of observation cannot be denied.

This line on Washington's part is arousing a very cautious reaction, particularly in Europe. So U.S. press organs are now trying to justify the lack of indications of a constructive approach by the administration to Soviet-American relations and urgent problems in world politics--particularly disarmament--in terms of some kind of "need" to ensure the U.S. "position of strength." "A buildup in U.S. military strength and readiness to use it in conflicts have replaced the use of talks in the arms control sphere as the central feature in U.S. policy in relations with Moscow"--that is how the new administration's strategy is formulated by the very well-informed magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT.

In bewilderment and perplexity the West European press (we cite the London paper THE SUNDAY TIMES as an example) writes: "President R. Reagan celebrates his assumption of the presidency by a polemic which is insulting to the USSR. Secretary of State A. Haig has accused the USSR of terrorism. The U.S. defense secretary threatens the neutron bomb as something to be brandished threateningly at a press conference. It all sounds "tough," but abuse and bombast are not toughness, they are simply abuse and bombast. On this basis there will be no firm alliance between the United States and Western Europe. Public threats to press the arms race are the wrong way to handle the Soviet Union. Moscow can respond in kind."

Both threats of this kind and attempts to implement them in practice have occurred more than once in the history of Soviet-American relations. All the same, the world has not fallen into the abyss of thermonuclear war. Our party's wise, peace-loving policy, the Soviet state's consistent struggle for peace and concern for strengthening the socialist community's defense might have more than once stopped those who were issuing nuclear ultimatums to us. On mature reflection they have come approximately to the conclusion formulated the other day in an interview in LE MONDE (E. Lattuak) from Georgetown University, who is a "consultant" to the new administration: "The United States has never had complete military superiority over the Soviet Union."

It has always been superiority in one respect combined with a lag in another." And if that state of affairs persisted even in the years when the USSR was still licking the grave wounds left by World War II, then presumably in our day attempts to achieve total superiority over us in the military sphere are even more futile.

If only because of this futility, the claims of certain Washington officials are absurd--they declare their intention of "teaching the Soviet Union a lesson," "punishing" it and looking at its "conduct" in all other spheres before beginning talks in any specific sphere--on disarmament or on SALT, for instance. Surely it is time to come down to earth and admit that in our day nobody--not even such a mighty power as the United States--has either the right or the real potential to dictate its will to the world community. Is it not time to learn to live in this world community in accordance with generally accepted international norms and rules? Surely it is wiser, instead of chasing the chimera of military superiority, to embark on businesslike discussion of the problems on which mankind's destiny depends.

This applies first and foremost to ending the arms race and eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The resolution of these cardinal tasks of today would make it possible to strengthen peaceful cooperation between states with different social systems in all spheres, give effective aid to developing countries by means of reducing military budgets, helping them to overcome the grave legacy of colonialism, and commence large-scale joint work on opening up space, the world ocean and new energy sources, combating diseases, hunger, poverty....

The Soviet Union, maintaining restraint and calm even in the conditions of the unprecedented explosion of anti-Soviet hysteria, proposed to the United States and its allies that they follow precisely this path, without turning aside into the blind alleys of cold war and military confrontation. Much depends on what path they choose and not only as regards the nature of Soviet-American relations.

From Belgrade to Delhi

The Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Conference has been held in Delhi. It is noteworthy that it coincided with the 20th anniversary of the emergence of the Nonaligned Movement. Only 25 states took part in the movement's first conference in Belgrade in 1961. Now there are about 100. The movement unites states with different social systems--from socialist Cuba to monarchist regimes. Some 1.5 billion people live in those countries, many of which have only succeeded in throwing off the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the course of prolonged, bloody wars against local reaction and imperialist powers' troops supporting it. Many leaders of national liberation movements have become the heads of the new states which have appeared on the map of the world during these years.

The anti-imperialist orientation inherent in the Nonaligned Movement has again been manifested in full force in Delhi over the last few days. The conference participants, in their speeches, named imperialism as the main culprit in the deterioration of the international situation and the fanning of dangerous conflicts and the arms race. In the conference delegation, published today, the representatives of nonaligned countries called for resolute opposition to the use or threat of force in international relations, the policy of imperialism and expansionism and all forms of domination and hegemonism.

Resolute support could be heard in Delhi for the Soviet proposals on an all-embracing, just settlement in the Near East and on making Southeast Asia a region of lasting peace and stability and the Indian Ocean a zone of peace free of foreign military bases. The Soviet Union's recent proposals on the Persian Gulf, as was noted in the speeches of a number of conference participants, are directed toward ensuring the peace, security and sovereign rights of states in the region. There was also a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's consistent support for the developing countries' demands on restructuring international economic relations.

U.S. imperialism is now doing everything possible to split the Nonaligned Movement and to make it take its lead from pro-American regimes and stop supporting national liberation forces. While the sittings were taking place in Delhi, U.S. Secretary of State Haig gave an interview to NEW REPUBLIC weekly in which he again "equated" national liberation movements with international terrorism. If the United States adheres to this concept, it means that all the young states born in the storms of the national liberation struggle are "illegitimate" from Washington's viewpoint. Hence the U.S. line on using political pressure and military force to once again impose on those countries the conditions of colonial exploitation and dependence. All this confirms once again that imperialism has been and remains enemy number one for the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress.

During these days article have appeared in the U.S. press from which it emerges that Washington is preparing for new "local wars" against the peoples of developing countries and is hurriedly training strike units of the Rapid Deployment Forces for this purpose.

Simultaneously with the preparation of military actions against nonaligned states which are "inconvenient" to Washington and the stepping up of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, American propaganda, in conjunction with Beijing propaganda, is trying to divide the Nonaligned Movement from its natural allies--the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have always taken the side of fighters against colonialism and imperialist dominance.

Any fabricated pretexts are used to this end--from expatiations on the notorious "Soviet threat" to the artificial fanning of the Afghan and Kampuchean "questions." Using Beijing as its "Trojan Horse," Washington is trying to substitute an anti-Soviet orientation for the Nonaligned Movement's anti-imperialist orientation. Attempts of this kind were given a fitting rebuff in Delhi.

A tremendous response was aroused among the conference participants by L.I. Brezhnev's greetings message to the nonaligned countries on their movement's 20th anniversary. "The development of friendship and cooperation with the nonaligned countries, which are an important element in the common front of the peoples' struggle for peace and freedom, has been and remains the Soviet Union's principled stance," the message says. "We are convinced that only together, through the efforts of all peace-loving states and peoples, can we fetter the actions of aggressive forces and turn the course of events away from the whipping up of international tension toward the strengthening of detente, away from the exacerbation of conflicts toward their settlement, toward the introduction everywhere in the practice of international relations of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems."

This stance on the part of the USSR is immutable and is not subject to any short-term considerations.

PONOMAREV: WORLDWIDE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

AU141654 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Feb 81 pp 1-6

[Article specially written for RABOTNICHESKO DELO by Boris Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee candidate member and Central Committee secretary: "Socialist Orientation and Social Progress"]

[Text] V.I. Lenin was the first to describe the possibility for certain countries to avoid or shorten the capitalist stage of development. He envisaged that the struggle of the majority of mankind against colonial oppression, dependency and backwardness would directly develop into a struggle against capitalism, in which peoples, lagging in their development, would be able to rely upon the socialist countries. Life has fully confirmed this brilliant prophesy.

Today we cannot imagine the political and social landscape of the world without the large groups of Asian, African and Central American countries, which are engaged in transforming their society according to the principles of socialism.

During the last decade the circle of these states has widened. This is a new confirmation of the fact that our epoch is one in the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. It is precisely because the socialist orientation, or the trend toward socialism, proves its vital strength that imperialism is attacking this force with particular violence.

The existence of real socialism gives opportunity to the socialist oriented countries to oppose the policy of imperialist interference and aggression with greater effectiveness and to take advantage of historical experience acquired in constructing a new society. The economic and technical cooperation with the countries belonging to the socialist community, and in particular with the Soviet Union, a cooperation based on equal rights, enables these countries to develop their economy and to obtain a wide access to modern scientific knowledge, to the most up-to-date technical equipment and technological methods, as well as to achieve essential progress in training cadres.

Economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries, including those with a socialist orientation, is strengthening from year to year and will develop also in the future. Thus, relations based to a great extent upon common goals and interests are being created and have already been established between the socialist community states and socialist oriented countries. These relations can be described as those of solidarity, mutual assistance and mutually advantageous cooperation.

It is, however, obvious that the existence of favorable exterior prerequisites in itself does not ensure automatic success in the struggle for socialist ideals. This struggle demands unrelenting and stubborn efforts on behalf of the broad people's masses and their political vanguard. A socialist system is being established and developed as a result of the resolute struggle waged by progressive forces in society, as a result of unrelenting, creative efforts devoted by the entire people. Only in this manner is it possible to develop a new type of social relations, to create a new man in a society progressing along the path of socialism.

This is by no means easy. Imperialism, together with the forces of domestic reaction, is constantly trying to undermine progressive regimes. These attempts are very dangerous. It is enough to mention the examples of Egypt and Somalia. Diversions, plots and mutual confrontation of peoples against each other, even overt intervention as in the case of Afghanistan, speculation with economic difficulties, with backwardness and taking advantage of hostilities between different tribes--these are all opportunities used by imperialism.

Historical experience unmistakably confirms that to preserve and consolidate progressive stands in given countries, the following prerequisites are necessary:

--A revolutionary party, likely to guide society and to act on the basis of scientific socialism must exist;

--The organs of democratic power must be consolidated from top to bottom, organs which must be created immediately following the liquidation of the colonial power;

--Party and state cadres, devoted and loyal to the workers masses and to the cause of socialism, must be trained and educated;

--The national armed forces, capable of defending the people's achievements must be consolidated;

--The relations of the party and state with the masses must be constantly expanded, and the working people must be involved in the management of public affairs;

--An economic and social policy, likely to ensure the consolidation of the country's independence and to improve the level of production, as well as likely to improve the people's living conditions must be conducted;

--Relations with the socialist countries--which are the loyal and reliable friends of the independent states--must be developed.

Countries which have proclaimed their policy of socialist orientation or a trend toward development along the socialist path are at different stages of their development. Nevertheless, all of them must own a revolutionary vanguard--the necessity of the party's ideological-political leadership must be manifested in each of them. The relations between this party and the people play a tremendous role in this respect. Life teaches us that only a party deeply linked to the people's masses, a party which is aware of the people's feelings, wishes and hopes, a party which is capable of close relations with the masses and a party which is capable of winning their confidence is capable of following the socialist oriented trend.

Along this path, however, the resistance of socially hostile elements, the passive attitude of old structures must be overcome and national-ethnic problems, as well as religious ones, must be resolved within the framework of democratic statehood. In creating the new strata apparatus, the involvement of young people in state affairs and the accomplishment of active party-political work within the army is of particular importance.

The most important sphere in the activity of the vanguard parties, however, is the economic policy. The difficulties in this sector, which make it particularly complicated, are the following: It is necessary to engage, at the same time, in creating a new material-technical basis and to improve the working people's living standard. Under such circumstances the leadership of socialist oriented countries see the solution in a gradual progress, avoiding an artificial forcing of social changes. Naturally, the questions of the most efficient use of domestic resources and the problems of processing existing natural resources come first. The development of cooperatives in the agricultural sector and in artisan activities is of great importance. However, the expansion of these branches must proceed with moderation, in accordance with ripening conditions and in accordance with the improvement of work in state-owned economic sectors. The experience of numerous socialist oriented countries has confirmed the useful role played by private enterprises under state control.

The use of domestic resources is linked to the education of people in a new approach to work, to the establishment of a conscious working discipline and to the awareness of existing difficulties in the development of this new economy.

To attain a situation likely to make working people really feel the results of revolution, not only in the moral-political sense, such as guaranteeing human dignity, respect for the working people, etc., but also from the point of view of a considerable improvement of material living conditions is the decisive, we can even say, the turning point for ensuring the success of the policy of socialist orientation.

The experience in building the foundations of a new society accumulated in the Soviet Union and in the other countries belonging to the socialist community is absolutely invaluable for the countries proceeding along the path of socialist orientation. Worked out by the great Lenin, the new economic policy (NEP) set an example and accumulated tremendous experience, showing how revolutionary power, having assumed the leadership in a multistructural economy, guarantees the coordination of the working people's interests in towns and villages with the interests of the state and with the interests of socialist construction. Various forms of management are possible in this respect--state-owned enterprises, state-capitalist enterprises, cooperative and private capitalist enterprises--all these forms are valid for restoring the economy, promoting nationalization, a technical reorganization of the economy, for cooperativization in the rural areas--whenever conditions become ripe for it--and in taking into consideration the level of the peasants' awareness.

Whenever we talk about the importance of the socialist countries' experience, we must stress that we should not mean an imitation of Soviet models. Paths toward socialism are numerous and varied. The practical experience of socialist oriented countries has contributed a great deal and still has much to contribute.

This is fully understandable since each of these countries is trying to discover new methods and forms of changes that most accurately correspond to existing conditions and to the peculiar national characteristic feature of each country. The comprehensive consolidation of socialist oriented countries, or of states, that are proceeding along the path of socialist construction is of tremendous international significance. The peoples of many countries just liberated from colonialism are attentively observing development in the aforementioned countries and are learning from their experiences. This is why the successful progress of socialist oriented countries will depend to a considerable extent upon the choice which the formerly enslaved peoples will make along the path of their further social development. The historical fate of these newly liberated countries and the consolidation of anti-imperialist positions throughout the world, as a whole, will also depend upon the successful progress of socialist oriented countries.

U.S. POSITION AT CSCE TALKS REGARDED AS 'NEGATIVE'

LD181814 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Madrid, 18 Feb, TASS--At the Madrid meeting of representatives of member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe the work continues in editing groups on the essence of the wordings contained in the proposals tabled. It is noted that some Western delegations resort to the tactics of procrastinations and delays. In the opinion of observers, the stand of the USA and its closest allies in NATO does not promote the working out of the generally-acceptable solutions on a number of important sections of the document that is being worked out. Thus, ignoring ostentatiously the proposals tabled by a number of countries--by Poland, as well as Yugoslavia, Sweden and Romania--on the matters of military detente, the United States representative said that the U.S. delegation is prepared only to discuss the proposal of France which, as is known, contains a number of preliminary conditions. The U.S. delegate went even further, demanding in essence the adoption of proposals unrelated to the matters of military detente, the proposals that are unacceptable for socialist countries. Such a stand of the USA on a most important question of European security, the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, is regarded by many observers as a negative one.

FIRST UN MEETING ON INDIAN OCEAN EXAMINED

LD181510 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] New York, 18 Feb, TASS--A session of the UN ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean has opened at the UN headquarters. Taking part in the committee's work are representatives of 45 states, including the Soviet delegation led by L.I. Mendelevich. The principal task facing the participants in the session is to prepare a conference to work out an international agreement on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. In line with a decision of the UN General Assembly, the international forum on this question is to be held in Colombc, the capital of Sri Lanka, this year.

The first meeting of the ad hoc committee vividly showed that a number of countries, particularly the United States, Great Britain, Australia and Japan, intends to interfere, just as in the past, with the normal activities of the committee. From the very beginning, the delegates from those countries made efforts to drown the discussion in fruitless procedural debates preventing the participants in the session from starting businesslike constructive work. Such actions are being undertaken contrary to the opinion of the overwhelming majority of delegations which firmly come out in favour of the businesslike preparation for the conference without any delays and complete it by the scheduled date.

The committee is holding its session against the background of the Pentagon's unprecedented escalation of its military might in the basin of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Proclaiming at will a considerable part of the Indian Ocean a zone of its "vital interests," Washington is boosting military preparations in that region--starting from the search for new military bases to large-scale manoeuvres of the Rapid Deployment Force. Many participants in the session note that the U.S. militaristic activities pose a very serious threat to the states in the region.

PEACE COMMITTEE ISSUES STATEMENT ON OMAN EXERCISE

LD182252 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb, TASS--The Soviet Peace Committee issued a statement in connection with the plans of holding joint U.S.-Oman military exercises in Oman's territory. The statement says:

"The build-up of U.S. military presence and the connected aggravation of war threat in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean area is another manifestation of the dangerous expansionist aspirations of U.S. imperialism."

The actions of the U.S. ruling circles, leading to the heightening of tensions in the Indian Ocean zone are aimed at undermining the gains of peoples of Asian and African countries that were achieved in the struggle for the consolidation of political and economic independence, for social progress, the statement says. This is a reaction of imperialism to the coming into power in a number of progressive-patriotic forces in a number of states, to the choice of socialist path of development made by such countries as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, to the successes of the national liberation movement. Such actions are directly connected with a turn manifested in Washington's foreign policy course toward the revival of the cold war and aggravation of the confrontation with the world of socialism.

"The Soviet peace champions condemn resolutely the attempts of the U.S. reactionary circles to create another U.S. military-strategic centre in the Persian Gulf area," the statement says. "The Soviet public unanimously supports the constructive and realistic programme advanced by Leonid Brezhnev to turn the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf zone into a zone of peace and security. This programme that was received with great satisfaction by the peaceful public of many countries meets the vital interests of all peoples of the explosive area."

"The Soviet people join their voice to the resolute protest of the world public against the policy of the United States aimed at undermining detente, at the stepping up the arms race, at further heightening of tensions, against the policy of aggression and international brigandage. We declare our complete support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples for freedom, independence, state and territorial integrity, for durable peace and security of all countries and peoples of the region," says the statement of the Soviet Peace Committee.

STEPS CONTINUE TOWARD EL SALVADOR INTERVENTION

LD182346 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1556 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)--Political observer Nikolay Chigir writes:

The Washington administration has taken a number of steps which leave no doubt that it intends to put in motion any means up to and including the direct incursion of U.S. Armed Forces in El Salvador to put down the liberation movement of the people of that country and to strengthen the power of the puppet junta. As a first step towards this aim it plans to make maximum use of the El Salvadoran forces, themselves. Not to mention the constantly increasing financial support to the junta, the United States is now training at an accelerated rate its army and other repressive organs for extensive operations to physically eliminate all patriotic and revolutionary forces of the country. About a thousand advisers and instructors from the CIA and the Pentagon have already been sent to El Salvador for this. Weapons and munitions, helicopters and other military equipment is arriving in El Salvador in a continuous stream.

However, if the El Salvador Army is unable to cope with the task that it has been set by Washington, direct use will be made of the U.S. Armed Forces. This is shown by many facts.

Very eloquent in this connection is the statement made by Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, after the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Haig and leading members of the Congress. Replying to a question about the possibility of sending U.S. troops to El Salvador, Percy stressed that "no variant should be excluded".

In its preparations for the direct armed interference in El Salvador, Washington is acting in accordance with an established pattern. Just as happened, for example, on the eve of U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic or prior to the landing of U.S. mercenaries in Cuba in 1961, the Reagan administration has now unleashed a noisy propaganda campaign pursuing the aim of deluding the world public and justifying its interventionist actions. For this purpose, just as before, the decrepit scarecrow of the "communist danger" is being put in motion. Moreover, the United States is trying to ascribe to the socialist countries..."interference" in the internal affairs of El Salvador and support for "international terrorism" which Washington now calls the liberation movements of the peoples. The CIA, as can be seen from U.S. press reports, has prepared a routine series of fake documents allegedly confirming that the USSR and Cuba have sent weapons to the El Salvador insurgents.

The U.S. State Department intends to present this dirty concoction, included in the so-called white paper which Washington has prepared for publication, as "reliable data" during the forthcoming hearings in the U.S. Congress on the question of the situation in El Salvador.

The United States is also trying to draw its allies in Europe and Latin America into participation in the plot against the people of El Salvador and into fanning up the slanderous anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban campaign around El Salvador. Washington's emissaries headed by Eagleburger, assistant U.S. secretary of state for European affairs, have left for London, Bonn, Paris, Brussels and The Hague with this aim. A special mission headed by Walters, former deputy director of the CIA, has been sent to Latin American countries.

The unseemly maneuvers of the Washington administration are too thinly disguised, as they say. The tricks which are traditionally used by the ruling circles of the United States as camouflage for their aggressive actions are well known throughout the world. They will not succeed in deluding the world public just as they will not succeed in stifling the liberation movement of the Salvadoran people.

LOSEV ON CURRENT STATUS OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

LD182106 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Sergey Losev commentary]

[Text] American news analysts are making extensive comments on the attitude of the new administration to Soviet-American relations, thus the Washington POST carries an article by Joseph Kraft which among other things says that the administration is deliberately building up tension in relations with the Soviet Union. According to the author of the article State Secretary Alexander Haig considers the atmosphere of pressure a favorable backdrop for consolidating United States positions in many parts of the globe. Part and parcel of this tactic are charges made by the administration that the Soviet Union violated a document signed in 1972 formulating the basic principles of Soviet-American relations. In that document the two great powers pledged to build their relationships on the basis of the principle of equality and renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force on the basis of recognition of the mutual interests of security and impermissibility of gaining unilateral advantages at the expense of the other side. The USSR and the United States proclaim their intention to bend every effort towards implementing the treaty and agreements they signed and reaffirm the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. If one takes a look in this context at the balance of the American administration, it would project a lacklustre image. As to the Soviet Union it has been strictly abiding by its commitments and agreements it signed with the United States including trade and financial agreements, but this can hardly be said about Washington. The United States has actually reneged on all basic agreements reached since 1972.

The first victim of United States gross interference in Soviet internal affairs became the United States-Soviet agreement of 1972 on trade, which has not been ratified by the United States Senate. In the document guiding the basic principles of Soviet American relations, the two sides pledged to do their utmost to prevent conflicts or situations which could heighten international tensions. The USSR and the United States made a commitment to promote peace and security for all nations. In violation of this commitment the United States incited Somalian expansionists to unleash a war of aggression against revolutionary Ethiopia and became the chief arms supplier to the aggressor. Suffice it to recall numerous innuendoes in the American press concerning ostensible Soviet attempts to gain control over Somalia. At the same time Washington made deliberate attempts to generate the armed conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden and to use that conflict as a pretext for turning Somalia into an American military bridgehead. It is the United States and not the Soviet Union that has set up naval bases in Somalia. One might as well recall that the Somalian-Ethiopian conflict was also used by the United States to break unilaterally the Soviet-American talks on reducing the level of military activity and naval presence in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to the Soviet Union whose policy is aimed at turning the Indian Ocean and the Gulf into a zone of peace and cooperation, the United States embarked on a road of saddling Oman and other countries with new military bases. The United States enlarged its war base on Diego Garcia and is stockpiling the nuclear weapons on that atoll and has sent its naval armada into the Indian Ocean.

To undermine the Soviet Union's national interests, the United States has departed from the coordinated principles of reaching a comprehensive peace settlement for the Middle East. Those who want specific examples of how the United States violates the principle of impermissibility of seeking unilateral advantages at the expense of the other side, could be referred to Henry Kissinger's memoirs. It was he who proposed to get the Russians out of the Middle East.

The Carter administration steered a similar line. On 1 October 1977 a joint Soviet-American statement on the Middle East was published following talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and State Secretary Cyrus Vance. That statement opened a way for a just settlement of the Middle East crisis within the framework of the Geneva conference, involving all sides concerned. Hardly a month had passed when the United States, again unilaterally, violated the spirit and letter of that agreement and chose the deadend road of the separate Camp David deal. One of the aims of this perverse policy was to clear the way for setting up United States war bases on the Sinai Peninsula.

And finally in a bid to gain unilateral military advantages the United States departed from the Vladivostok agreements on limiting strategic offensive weapons and then declined to ratify the SALT II treaty signed by the president of the United States. All this was done for the sake of the illusory objective which was bluntly laid down by the Republican Party in its election platform, namely to achieve a military edge over the Soviet Union.

Now what is worth, in this case, all the talk concerning alleged violations by the Soviet Union of the basic principles of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States? In this letter to Secretary of State Haig, dated 24 January, Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko reaffirmed the USSR's readiness for an exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues, specifically those which merit priority attention and which should be discussed in the first place. And it is regrettable that these issues have not so far got within the purview of the new administration.

ABALAMOV HITS ABC PROGRAM ON SOVIET LIFE

LD181444 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 18 Feb 81

["Why the ABC Is Lying"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb, TASS--TASS news analyst Ivan Ablamov writes: The U.S. ABC television company has sponsored a series of programmes under the pretentious title "War or Peace".

Although only two out of the five planned programmes have been so far shown, they proved to be quite enough to understand that this is a fresh mendacious anti-Soviet propaganda story. Characteristically, the ABC sponsored this programme after the seminar on the subject of how to cover life in the USSR by slanderously distorting Soviet realities, which was held by the CIA and other government agencies for representatives of the American press, radio and television. The ABC company is obviously in a hurry to carry out the instructions it has received.

The ABC has heaped up mountains of lies in its programmes, having recourse to most absurd inventions, misrepresenting facts, trying to picture the Soviet Union as a country with indissoluble economic difficulties, a "country suffering from permanent shortages." In laying emphasis only on outstanding problems and shortages, which the Soviet communists do not conceal, but on the contrary openly discuss ways for practically overcoming them, the company is trying to call in question the feasibility of Soviet national economic plans, to present the life of the Soviet people in a distorted light.

Hence, not a word is mentioned in the programme about the results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, the further rise in the living standards of the Soviet people on the basis of the dynamic development of socialized production, and the growth of the effectiveness and quality of work. Also passed over in silence is the fact that during the five-year plan period Soviet industrial output has increased by 717,000 million roubles, agricultural output--50,000 million roubles and the real income of the working people--by 17 percent.

The company programmes make no mention either of the fact that the CPSU has set as its task for the eighties a consistent implementation of its economic strategy, whose paramount goal is to ensure a steady rise in the material and cultural standards of the population, to create favourable conditions for the all-round development of the personality on the basis of achieving a further growth of the effectiveness of the whole socialized production, of labour productivity, social and labour activeness of Soviet people.

Suffice it to recall figures, which have impressed even bourgeois experts and the press. The plan for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985) provides for a 26-28 percent increase in industrial output, 12-14 per cent increase in agricultural output, and a 16-18 per cent increase in the real income of the working people.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Thomas Watson perhaps had in mind such scribblers as those of the ABC, when he recently warned against wishful thinking in underestimating the Soviet Union's economic potential and the living standards of the Soviet people. In all evidence the ABC has given no heed to this useful advice. Why? The explanation is very simple. Its main aim to conceal from the man-in-the-street in the United States, who has to bear the brunt of the grave consequences of the economic crisis and hears statements from Washington about forthcoming new hardships, the truth about the dynamic, balanced development of the Soviet Union's economy, and which is the main thing, the every care and attention, which the working people in this country receive.

Therefore, the ABC has to lie. The American television company has undertaken an unseemly role indeed.

REAGAN ADDRESS ON ECONOMIC REMEDIES REPORTED

LD190924 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 19 Feb 81

[Text] Washington, 19 Feb, TASS--President Reagan of the United States addressed a joint session of the two houses of Congress, setting out his administration's programme to remedy the U.S. economic ills.

All of us, the President said, are aware of the punishing inflation which has, for the first time in some sixty years, held to double digit figures for two years in a row. Interest rates have reached absurd levels of more than 20 per cent and over 15 per cent for those who would borrow to buy a home. All across this land one can see newly-built homes standing vacant, unsold because of mortgage interest rate. Almost eight million Americans are now out of work. These are people who want to be productive. But as the months go by, despair dominates their lives. The threats of layoff and unemployment hang over other millions, and all who work are frustrated by their inability to keep up with inflation. Hourly earnings of the American worker, after adjusting for inflation, have declined five per cent over the past five years, the President went on to say. Federal personal taxes for the average family increased 67 per cent.

Reagan said the ship of state has run out of control. Our national debt is approaching one trillion dollars. The interest on it this year will be over 90 billion dollars, he said. The rate of increase in American productivity, once one of the highest in the world, is among the lowest of all major industrial nations. Indeed, it has actually declined the last three years, the President said.

The President has proposed a four-part programme to remedy the economic ills. The programme envisages, in particular, cuts in government spending, a certain reduction in taxes, first of all for corporations, the lifting of some types of state regulation of the economy and the maintenance of the value of the U.S. currency. The programme meets the policy of the Republican party which holds the positions of unlimited development of private enterprise and reduction of state programmes on aid to the poor and the needy.

Thus, the President is proposing to reduce government spending in the 1982 financial year by a total of 49,100 million dollars. This reduction, as is clear from his address, will be effected at the expense of various social programmes. Expenditure for the food stamps which are given to the needy for them not to die of starvation will be cut down, for example, by 1,800 million dollars. An amount of 1,600 million dollars is to be "saved" resultant of cutting down subsidies for school lunches and breakfasts. The programme of medical aid to the poor is to be curtailed by a billion dollars. Expenditure for housing construction and the development of arts are to be sharply slashed. Appropriations for unemployment benefits and social aid benefits and for other programmes which have been gained by the working people in years-long persistent struggle are to be curtailed.

The "budget axe" will not touch the huge military expenditures. The Department of Defence, Reagan said, is the only department in our programme that will actually be increased over the present budgeted figures. According to the White House documents explaining the programme, appropriations for military needs will be increased by another 7,200 million dollars. By 1984 the Reagan administration is planning to "surpass" the already unprecedented military spending plans, which were drawn up by the previous administration, by 27,000 million dollars and bring the Pentagon's budget up to a quarter of a trillion of dollars.

The President tried to justify this unchecked increase in U.S. military spending by alluding to obviously made-up "findings" on the USSR's defence spending. While stating the U.S. "commitment" to the idea of negotiations with the USSR on disarmament, the head of the White House did not conceal Washington's intention to conduct such negotiations from a position of strength.

PRAVDA CITED ON MILITARY FUNCTION OF SPACE SHUTTLE

LD160006 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2203 GMT 15 Feb 81

["PRAVDA on the Dangerous Plans of the Pentagon"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb, TASS--The plans of the Washington militarists are aimed at undermining the efforts of the peace-loving states, who seek to prevent the spreading of the arms' race to new fields, including space, writes Yevgeniy Rusakov in PRAVDA.

He points out that the U.S. Congress has allotted more than \$200 million extra to the development of a reusable "shuttle" spaceship. "The legislators were not miserly although the cost of the ship had already nearly doubled in comparison with the originally planned sum of \$5.1 billion."

The commentary draws attention to the fact that one of the first tasks of the shuttle spaceship will be to test a target finder for a laser weapon to be put into orbit, which will be designed to destroy Soviet missiles. The "shuttle" is also to be given other military functions--the "inspection" of foreign [chuzhoy] space objects, the delivery of them for dismantling and destroying "if needed," the launching of spy satellites and so on.

The intrigues of the Pentagon, the author stresses, is clearly in contradiction to the will of the international community, expressed in decisions of the UN General Assembly and other documents, calling on all states to carry out space research and to use space in the interests of peace and security.

REPUBLICAN 'DEBUT' RAISES QUESTION OF 'REALISM'

LD181803 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 7, 13 Feb 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Washington's Debut"]

[Text] People all over the world were waiting to see what the new U.S. leaders would say when they took the reins of power. What did they say?

That some things are more important than peace.

That detente is a one-way street leading to world communist domination.

That the national liberation movements which have resulted in about 100 states' acquiring independence in the postwar world and becoming UN members are detachments of international terrorism under the Kremlin's leadership.

That the only possible policy is a position of strength policy.

That is it time for NATO to acquire the neutron bomb.

That Moscow must "change its behavior," cast its allies and friends fighting for their countries' freedom to the mercy of destiny and act in a way that suits the White House. And perhaps even believe in "life beyond the grave," since the U.S. President counts this belief as an essential part of his system of values.

The world, we presume, would have preferred to hear something different. It was awaiting answers to cardinal questions from the Washington leaders: What does the United States intend to do to promote the elimination of tension, the curbing of the arms race and the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union, whose present state casts a shadow on the entire international atmosphere and is giving rise to concern? Those are the obvious priorities in world politics now. But no account was taken of them.

The revelations of Washington politicians have unleashed a hail of questions on the White House. How can this challenging, extravagant debut be explained? What are its participants aiming for? Have they not conducted themselves too freely in the world arena, where they are not alone?

The explanations were given. "The Kremlin must regard Reagan as a realistic U.S. president, not a naive one," White House Chief of Staff Baker declared. So it turns out that the tough statements are a warning: The United States will not have dealings with the USSR as usual until it changes its policy.

Moscow prefers to deal with realists, rather than with a naive person, by which Washington means the former White House incumbent. But it is easy, in the attempt to avoid Carter's naivety, to fall into a different naivety. Is it not naive to pin great hopes on "out-running" the USSR in the arms race and making it follow a different course from that which the soviet land follows in accordance with its duty as a great socialist power?

There is realism and realism. The world is real, but a war capable of destroying it could also become a reality. We describe as realistic a policy which takes sober account of the state of world affairs and the correlation of world forces, of its own and others' potential, which takes account of these things for the sake of the conflict-free coexistence of the opposing sociopolitical systems, for the sake of settling by means of talks all differences capable of sparking off a thermonuclear conflagration. The USSR is in favor of precisely this realism.

However, another policy also has real existence--a policy of moving deliberately toward war, which is regarded as permissible and acceptable (that is the essence of the American doctrine of "limited" nuclear war), deliberately stepping up the arms race and maliciously falsifying the other side's foreign policy goals and line.

Which realism will the White House prefer? Much depends on that choice. Including the political future of the authors of the present U.S. course.

Let us be in no hurry to arrive at definitive appraisals and conclusions. The Republican administration has not yet been in power for the 100 days which are traditionally given to newcomers in the West. They made their debut not in the best style, but according to a scheme already discredited by practice. The worldwide audience did not fail to see this. Perhaps those who would do well to listen to the more or less unanimous negative opinion on their performance will be able to amend it. In the meantime it must be noted--and noted with regret--that Washington does not yet have a reasonable, thoughtful, thoroughly considered policy which would receive relatively broad support at home and among the allies and which would create a relatively constructive basis for collaboration with the other side.

Whatever your attitude to "life beyond the grave." mankind wants to live in this world, not the other.

There is nothing more important than to live in peace and concord. Concord if only to the extent that one side does not try to push the other off the planet. It is the only one we have. And so is our life on it.

'MALEVOLENT' THINKING PROMPTS REAGAN 'BLUNDERS'

LD181423 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 81 p 9

[Vitaliy Kobyshev "Observer's Opinion": "About the Benefits of Looking Back"]

[Text] People try to forget bad things. That is the way man and his mind are made. Doctors claim that if this were not so homo sapiens would be crushed by the burden of suffering, unendurable stress and conflict. As far back as 70 years ago the Viennese psychoanalyst Alfred Adler claimed that a human being's subjective "sense of inferiority" is neutralized by mechanisms of "compensation" and "overcompensation."

Be that as it may, few people in America are now remembering J. Carter, strange though it may seem to anyone who saw the euphoria that accompanied his accession to the presidential throne 4 years ago, and those that do recall him usually do so with an unkind word. This applies most of all to the new incumbent of the White House. He is accusing his predecessor of practically all the troubles the United States is experiencing. Let us forget ethics for a while; abuse of the person who did your job before you is not held to be very consonant with them. As has been remarked before, recent U.S. presidents have been almost on "first-name terms" with God and so ought to know better when it comes to ethics.

We are even prepared to understand the origin of this immoderate abuse: Wounds are fresh and raw, and every incumbent of the White House has always sought to present himself as more energetic, perspicacious and promising than the person he replaced.

What interests us in the present case is something else. To what extent is J. Carter really to blame for the difficulties America is experiencing, and what was the "Carter phenomenon" really about? Now, after the battle, so to speak, people are saying that the combination of an uncontrollable nation with an uncontrollable president whose actions were unpredictable brought a powerful capitalist country to the threshold of economic, political and moral and psychological catastrophe. In the process people are recalling--a little late--that in point of fact J. Carter became president despite the fact that 80 percent of Americans did not vote for him.

The blame for absolutely everything is heaped on him: from the economic mess to the affair of the Americans held in Iran. It is all based on the principle formulated by John Kennedy in his speech following the failure of the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion: "Victory has a hundred fathers, while defeat is always an orphan." Thus the "Carter phenomenon" lies primarily in the fact is that he was a bankrupt, just as all his immediate predecessors were bankrupt. And in America bankrupts are not respected and are swiftly forgotten.

Nonetheless, it would be interesting to know just where J. Carter--toward whom people now feel not so much irritation or other, stronger feelings as something like pity--fell down more drastically than anywhere else. Do not be astonished, reader: We are now going to give a hearing to someone with whom we have previously more often held polemics. Zbigniew Brzezinski, that most sinister eminence noire [chernyy kardinal], has produced a surprise. Now finding himself out of a job, he has suddenly begun to speak in a normal human voice and has formulated the clear-cut thesis that the Carter administration's main mistake was that it did not finish the business of the SALT II treaty.

Quite a shock, eh? However, we cannot help asking: Who got in the way of the treaty? Surely it was clear right from the outset--that is, from the moment the Carter administration began its games with SALT II--that a black deed was afoot and that it would end badly above all for the administration itself? Is it always necessary to take a look at the bottom of the abyss in order to measure its depth? Now they are tormenting themselves with belated remorse and beating their breasts. Who needs that now?

I think some people nonetheless do need it, which is the reason for this whole discussion. Has the new U.S. President learned the lessons of the fatal mistakes made by his predecessor? Not only Moscow, but also the capitals of the West European states that are U.S. allies are gaining the impression that R. Reagan, before even pulling around from the teething troubles following his inauguration, has swiftly managed to make appallingly ridiculous blunders of his own. One of the main blunders is the tone set by the new president for the U.S. foreign policy course, which displays not a modern, broad view of the exceptionally complex world surrounding the United States, but a narrow view seemingly borrowed from Theodore Roosevelt.

The United States is experiencing convulsions of the most diverse kinds. "I regret to say that we are now in the worst economic mess since the great depression....", "R. Reagan said a few days ago in his television "address to the nation." While he is perfectly aware on the one hand that the country's state debt has reached fantastic dimensions and on the other that if anything threatens America it is the thoughtless course of its leaders, he is actually setting a military budget of incredible size, introducing ruinously expensive new weapons systems and heaping threats and insults on other countries, accusing them of things for which the blame lies primarily with America itself.

It is true that the world is full of problems. But the American leaders are painting it in colors still more somber than is required by either a sense of proportion or objective reality. What is the logic that impels them? The way we see it, it not complex, but it is malevolent. They are proceeding from the premise that detente produces flabbiness in military muscles and is enfeebling. The teetering on the brink if not of global war, then of thoughtlessly toying with the idea, and the constant reminders to the West about the inevitability of that threat and at the same time about being ready to repel the attack of the "perfidious and dangerous enemy" (the refrain of the "Soviet military threat") serve to maintain mobilization status, to create the optimum opportunities for the military-industrial complex and to justify any expenditure, even the most inconceivable. In this sense Dulles' policy not only lives on, but is being newly developed in a pretty sophisticated way. In short, if you take seriously everything that the U.S. President and secretary of state have said so far, it looks as though Dulles' fantasies may become a very real threat to mankind.

As we can see, there is evidence of a not overly diligent learning of the lessons of J. Carter's failure. You can already see this team too in 4 years' time beating its breast, making excuses and expressing regrets. It has all happened before. The sight is familiar, very familiar. Speaking at the reception in honor of the Americans returned from Iran, R. Reagan quoted Psalm 126, which begins with the words: "We were like them that dream...."

Alas, the dream continues.

CHINA'S SUPPORT FOR SOUTH KOREA DENOUNCED

OW190419 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 1430 GMT 18 Feb 81

[(Ai Hao) commentary: "Farther on the Road of Betrayal"]

[Text] According to the Hong Kong ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL, trade between China and South Korea has recently become highly active. Such trade is carried out not only through Hong Kong and Singapore brokers but also directly between Chinese and South Korean foreign trade organizations. The paper points out that Chinese merchandise is shipped to South Korea by Chinese vessels flying the PRC flag. Station observer (Ai Hao) gives his views on this matter.

People never cease to be surprised by the Beijing leading clique's shamelessness and unprincipled stand. It only pays lipservice to friendship with the DPRK, trying to make people believe that it supports the Korean people's struggle against imperialism and reaction because these influences hinder the peaceful reunification of Korea. In fact, it supports the pro-U.S. reactionary regime of South Korea, which is the principal stumbling block on the way to Korean reunification.

According to foreign press estimates, the volume of business transactions between China and South Korea reached a high figure by the end of 1980, 300 million U.S. dollars. China has exported oil and coal to South Korea. In other words, China sold the most important things, even though an energy crisis prevails in China. It has also sold South Korean strategic materials. Thus, this support is of great significance.

Trade between China and South Korea has suddenly increased and Gen Chon Tu-hwan, the executioner of South Koreans, has seized political power. Thus, what must be mentioned here is not their commercial activities, but, first of all, China's leading clique's policy. It is China that has vigorously supported a regime that is most reactionary and that opposes the people but is liked by the United States. No doubt, this regime is preferred by U.S. imperialism. It is by no means accidental that Chon Tu-hwan was the first foreign high-ranking activist received by the new U.S. President. Since he was cordially received at the White House, he naturally became a friend of the Zhongnanhai regime.

Dear listeners, please think once again about how relations between China's leading clique and Chile were arranged. While Allende's Popular Unity government, which was progressive, opposed U.S. monopoly control and strived for people's interest, was in power, the Beijing regime acted stingily toward it, constantly using the cloak that China was poor itself and did not have money to respond to supporting this people's government. However, when a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat took place in Chile and U.S. imperialism put General Pinochet's fascist military clique in the political arena to seize political power, Beijing changed its stingy stand. According to Chilean and other foreign press reports, the Beijing regime has granted loans of more than 200 million U.S. dollars and also credit loans to the Chilean fascists who have flooded Chilean territory with the blood of communists and other patriots. Such loans were promptly provided under preferable conditions. The Beijing regime has degenerated to such despicable depths as to supply handcuffs, prison keys and other commodities to Pinochet's (henchmen).

While Egyptian President as-Sadat was betraying Arab interests and was criminally colluding with Israeli Zionism and U.S. imperialism, relations between Beijing and Cairo began to develop rapidly. While Arab nations and their genuine friends were resolutely resisting the as-Sadat regime, the Beijing regime was expanding its trade with it. What makes Arabs particularly indignant is that the Beijing leading clique has decided to supply Egypt a large number of military aircraft, heavy tanks, rockets and other weaponry. It should be pointed out that everyone should know that, under the condition of collusion between As-Sadat and Israel, these weapons will be only used against Arabs. The fact is that all this makes honest Chinese people unhappy, because it damages their national honor and seriously damages China's international prestige.

JAPAN NOT ALLOWED WIDER COVERAGE OF CPSU CONGRESS

OW190033 Tokyo KYODO in English 0014 GMT 19 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow Feb 18 KYODO--The Soviet Foreign Ministry rejected Wednesday applications filed by the KYODO NEWS SERVICE and ASAHI SHIMBUN for permission to increase the number of their correspondents in Moscow to cover the 26th Congress of the Communist Party opening next week.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries normally restrict the entry of correspondents of Western countries. It is usual, however, for such countries to "open the door" to such Western newsmen at times of holding of party congresses. Based on such precedents, the Soviet Union permitted mass media of the U.S., West Germany and other Western countries to increase their correspondents for the coming congress.

Observers, however, believed the Soviet Union turned down the request of KYODO and ASAHI because of the designation by the Japanese Government of February 7 as "Northern Territories Day" to press demands for return of the four islands off eastern Hokkaido now occupied by that country.

February happened to be the month when correspondents of KYODO and ASAHI are replaced. Therefore, KYODO and ASAHI requested permission to increase the number of correspondents by having the outgoing newsmen remain in the country for a longer period than allowed for handing over their duties to the newly-assigned correspondents. Under the Japan-Soviet agreement on exchange of newsmen, 10 days are allowed for transfer of duties to the newly-assigned correspondents.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry, however, instructed the outgoing correspondents of KYODO and ASAHI Wednesday to leave the country by Sunday, or a day before the start of the congress.

JAPAN NOTIFIED OF SOVIET INABILITY TO SUPPLY COAL

OW180339 Tokyo KYODO in English 0320 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Tokyo, Feb 18, KYODO--The Soviet Union has notified Japan that it cannot keep its pledge to begin coal shipments from the south Yakutsk region of Siberia in 1983, steel industry sources said Wednesday.

The sources said the Soviet notification was delivered at regular Japan-Soviet talks on development of Yakutsk coal deposits, held in Moscow February 9-13. The sources said Soviet officials had cited extremely severe weather conditions and breakdown of Japanese-supplied mining equipment.

The two nations will discuss the delay at the next regular bilateral talks to be held in Tokyo by the end of this year, according to the sources. Under an agreement signed in 1974, the Soviet Union was originally scheduled to supply 3.2 to 5.5 million tons of coking coal from the south Yakutsk region annually between 1983-98 in exchange for credits and mining machines and equipment.

SUPREME SOVIET RATIFIES SOVIET-MONGOLIAN TREATY

LD052136 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2050 GMT 5 Feb 81

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has ratified a treaty between the Governments of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic on the operation [rezhim] of the Soviet-Mongolian state border and cooperation and mutual assistance on border issues, which was signed in Moscow on 26 November last year.

Arrival in Tashkent

[Text] Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, arrived in Tashkent today at the head of a delegation of PDPA members en route to Moscow for the 26th CPSU Congress.

The delegation was met at the airport by Inamzhon Usnankhodzhayev, president of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Narmakhonmadi Khudayberdiyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers; other party and government members; representatives of the capital's community; and Afghan students studying in Tashkent.

Radio Interview

[Text] As you have heard in the news, the general secretary of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee, head of the Revolutionary Council and DRA prime minister, Babrak Karmal, arrived in Tashkent at the head of a delegation of PDPA members en route to Moscow for the 26th CPSU Congress. During his brief stopover in the Uzbek SSR, Babrak Karmal replied to questions put to him by our correspondent. I will now read a report on this interview, which is entitled "The [word indistinct] Establishment of Internationalism."

[Answer] Babrak Karmal replied: The 26th CPSU Congress is a major accomplishment in the Soviet people's life.

Bakrak Karmal, the representative of the PDPA, added that the congress was of great importance to all progressive peoples and said: It is an honor for me and my colleagues to be participating in the CPSU congress on behalf of the DRA, its progressive organizations and the revolutionary people of the DRA.

Babrak Karmal said the 26th CPSU Congress was also important from the point of view of internationalism. He added: It must be noted with pleasure that the few days before the 26th CPSU Congress coincide with the 60th anniversary of the signing of the first Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty. The great Vladimir Lenin was the initiator of this treaty. I note with pleasure that by arriving in Tashkent we have begun our visit to our great friend, the Soviet Union. This is indicative of the cooperation and the fraternal, friendly relations between the Afghan and Soviet peoples, particularly with the people of the Uzbek SSR. The history, civilization and (?development) of the Afghan and Uzbek peoples have many things in common. [passage indistinct]

Babrak Karmal noted that at a time when imperialism and military circles are increasing tension, the proposals put forward by the CPSU leadership for defusing tension and safeguarding peace and security are undoubtedly of great value and wished success to the CPSU's efforts to maintain peace.

Babrak Karmal said: Since the establishment of Soviet rule, the CPSU has waged an unending struggle for peace. Maintaining peace is the cornerstone of CPSU activities. The Soviet Union has always been the spearhead of peace and continues to be so now. The 26th CPSU Congress is important from the standpoint of resolving certain problems and for establishing views for [words indistinct] and for convincing the people to accept these views. The suffering peoples and progressive humanity have turned their attention to the Soviet capital, Moscow, in hope. The 26th CPSU Congress will be held in this city in a few days time. This congress will no doubt attach utmost importance to strengthening world peace.

The CPSU leadership, which is of great importance to the future of humanity, has welcomed our participation. Under the leadership of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the CPSU has always endeavored to safeguard peace and defuse tension. We are confident that the CPSU will deal the necessary blow on instigators of hostility, whose aim is to create fear, horror and tension in the world. However their ulterior motives will not be realized. The supporters of peace and [word indistinct] are invincible.

[Question] Honorable Babrak Karmal, what are your views on the principles laid down in the Soviet 11th 5-Year Plan for socioeconomic development?

[Answer] It must be pointed out that each CPSU congress constitutes a new cornerstone for the development of the Soviet Union. Each congress established the principles upon which development continues in the Soviet Union. Every principle in the 11th 5-Year Plan aims at furthering development in the Soviet Union and the unity of the Soviet people. These principles provide for the development of the Soviet Union in economic, technical and social fields and for [word indistinct] of the Soviet people. These principles have reconfirmed to the whole world that the main duty of socialism is to work for the happiness and unity of the suffering peoples. Socialism has achieved great success in bringing happiness to its people. I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the Uzbek SSR, whose party and state organs have been awarded the (?red flag) for attaining a remarkable level of success in the socialist competition of the Soviet republics in the field of agriculture and other social domains.

Concluding, Babrak Karmal thanked the Uzbek Communist Party, headed by Sharaf Rashidov, and the government of this republic for the sincere and fraternal hospitality accorded to him in the Uzbek SSR.

KARMAL CHAIRS SECURITY, ECONOMIC TASKS CONFERENCE

LD171249 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 81 p 4

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] Kabul, 10 Feb--An expanded conference was held in the Afghan capital under the leadership of B. Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA. It was attended by members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Revolutionary Council Presidium, a number of ministers, representatives of the PDPA Central Committee and Revolutionary Council in the country's provinces, leaders of PDPA Central Committee departments, political workers in the people's armed forces and the security services and also other personnel.

B. Karmal delivered a report at the conference. He touched on questions relating to the domestic political situation and also certain international problems, in particular that of ensuring the DRA's complete security and the liquidation of counterrevolution. Also examined were the tasks of the party and the DRA Government in the sphere of socioeconomic development and prosperity of Afghanistan, raising the people's living standards and providing for their needs. The report's theses met with the full support of the conference participants.

Following discussion of the report the conference adopted decisions aimed at safeguarding the country's security and implementing plans for the DRA's socioeconomic development in the next Afghan year, beginning on 21 March.

DRA AGRICULTURE MINISTER ON CURRENT SUCCESSES

LD172204 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] Kabul, 17 Feb, TASS--The People's Democratic Party (PDPA) and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) attach most serious importance to conducting springtime sowing campaign in the country, Fazel Rahim Momand, the DRA's minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

Important organizational activities have already been carried out to prepare for the springtime sowing. A seminar of the directors of the provincial agriculture boards was held. Early in February a decision was taken by the PDPA Central Committee on matters of preparation and conducting the springtime sowing of cereals. Commissions to check the conduct of springtime fieldwork locally are being set up in all the provinces of Afghanistan.

The current year, the minister said, notwithstanding the criminal activities of counter-revolutionary bands, was rather successful for the Afghan peasants. According to existing data, 4,370,000 tons of cereals alone has been harvested, which is 150,000 tons more than last year. The production of cereals is to grow by another 3-4 percent next year.

The Government of the DRA has mapped out and implemented a number of measures to render assistance to the peasants with varietal seeds, chemical fertilizers, agricultural implements and tractors. Over 200 agricultural machines have been readied at the machinery-and-tractor stations in Balkh, Herat and other provinces. In all, about 3,000 tractors will be at work on the fields.

Fazel Rahim Momand said the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform has already started distributing improved varieties of seeds of cereals, cotton, and chemical fertilizers among the farmers.

The minister pointed out that the measures which are being taken by the republic's government and which are aimed at holding springtime fieldwork on time find a broad support among peasants.

Fazel Rahim Momand expressed deep gratitude for the Soviet Union's unselfish assistance which it renders in the development of Afghanistan's agriculture. He also congratulated the working people of the Soviet Union on the impressive successes in all fields of the economy with which they have come to the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

PAKISTAN OPPOSED TO PRESENCE OF 'AFGHAN REFUGEES'

LD180038 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] Islamabad, 17 Feb. TASS--The public of Pakistan notes with apprehension that the presence of the so-called "Afghan refugees" in the country not only seriously aggravates social problems, acute as they are, but also becomes a heavy burden for the population of Pakistan. These so called "refugees" belonging to out-and-out Afghan counterrevolution attack the inhabitants of Pakistani villages, rob, seize pastures and destroy forests. The population of Naushera region (North Western Border Province) was forced to approach the authorities with a demand to defend their rights and to protect them from the self-invited guests.

In their letters addressed to newspapers the Pakistanis protest against the presence of Afghan bandits in the country. Mushtak Ahmad Kureshi from Vah settlement stresses in his letter to the newspaper MUSLIM that there is no place for them in Pakistan.

USSR, INDIA SIGN MARINE TRANSPORTATION PROTOCOL

LD140606 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 13 Feb, TASS--A protocol signed after a session of the joint Soviet-Indian Shipping Commission here provides for a further development of ties between the USSR and India in the field of marine transportation. Special attention will be given to the expansion of container carriage.

WEEKLY VIEWS 'CREEPING COUNTERREVOLUTION' IN POLAND

LD181617 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 81 pp 9, 14

[Special correspondent I. Andronov report: "Behind the Mask of 'Solidarity'"--first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] Warsaw--Gdansk-Moscow--LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's special correspondent who visited Poland recently imparts his personal observations as a reporter, laying no claim to an exhaustive analysis of the political situation in Poland.

...Late one January evening the high-speed "Polonaise" train was hurtling across the snow-covered Belorussian plain westward to Warsaw. In the narrow corridor of the sleeping car two elderly Poles and a pretty, young-looking Polish lady were standing near my compartment. They were talking animatedly, frequently interrupting each other. The loudly reiterated words "government, economy, solidarity, crisis, strikes, strikes, strikes, strikes" reached me in fragments. Finally I replied to them, jestingly remarking that this was my third visit to Poland but the first time I had seen Poles talking only about politics with an attractive lady.

"You can hear the same thing everywhere in Poland today," one of my fellow-travelers replied. "We are arguing about the best way for our country to extricate itself from its present troubles."

And they invited me to listen in on their debate. In a while their female companion left for her compartment, but we were soon joined by a new interlocutor--a tall, thin passenger with a rawboned face. I had already seen him earlier in the express train's restaurant car. Young men in army uniforms were also dining there at small tables, and this stranger was hovering around them importunately, giving artificial smiles, talking with them, and ordering bottles of beer by the dozen. He gave the impression of being a rogue trying somehow to get the servicemen he had run into drunk. However, ultimately he obviously fell into his own trap, for now in the corridor of our car he could scarcely stand upright, hiccupping drunkenly but continuing to clutch a half-empty beer bottle in his scrawny hand. Instead of the elegant jacket and waistcoat he had been wearing earlier, he had on only an undershirt, instead of shoes he was wearing only socks, and his light gray pants were disgracefully soaked in front below the belt and down both legs. Addressing the Poles, he asked in Russian, with an obvious foreign accent:

"Well, what is your political situation in Poland now?"

"Quite complex," was the restrained reply.

"And what do you think?" the stranger turned to me.

"Let the Poles judge that. I'm a Muscovite, a Russian."

"Oh, I like the Russians very much," he exclaimed. "I love the Russian soul, Russian beer, the Russian language, Russian songs."

Suddenly he launched into a raucous version of "from the island to the river" [first line of the folksong "Stenka Razin"], but faltered at the second line, swore obscenely, took a swig from the beer bottle and muttered:

"I'm as drunk as a lord. I'm a sailor. A commander. Let's get acquainted."

Both Poles--Wladek Saczuk and Karol Wilczynski--turned out to be from Warsaw. And we heard with great astonishment that the immoderate lover of Russian beer was in the diplomatic service of a Western country. And for his name, I shall not make it public yet. All the more so since in his state of drunkenness he rashly admitted:

"I am a naval attache. On my way to Warsaw on very important business."

The three of us exchanged meaningful glances. But he did not calm down:

"I know what you were thinking! Yes, I am a professional agent. It's pointless to hide it."

"You must be joking?"

"Not at all. This is the first time I have honestly admitted I'm a real spy. I'm a regular spy for the NATO military command. Why don't you believe me?"

We maintained a perplexed silence. And he wandered dejectedly away from us, clasping at the walls, to his compartment. I later recalled this grotesquely unusual encounter on the way to Warsaw again and again when I heard in Poland of the subversive operations of the loquacious attache's motley collection of colleagues, who are seeking soberly and as secretly as possible to shake from within the socialist structure of the social and state system of our Slav neighbors, allies and friends.

Alleged and Real Problems

The next day I left my hotel on Warsaw's Krucza Ulica and set off for crowded Marszalkowska Ulica--the capital's main thoroughfare. Then I turned off Aleje Jeruzolimskie and Nowy Swiat. Dense crowds of well-dressed city-dwellers passed me by. The cold winter sun was reflected a thousandfold in the glass showcases and windows of modern high-rise buildings. An endless stream of automobiles rushed along the streets. Toward evening the capital's public gathered in the comfortable Warsaw cafes, restaurants, cabarets, movie and drama theaters.

Against the background of this outward calm in Warsaw there was a hysterically discordant note to the broadcasts emanating from my hotel radio--broadcasts on almost all wavelengths from Munich's Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, the BBC and Deutsche Welle on the continuing alleged concentration of Soviet troops, sinister Polish-Soviet maneuvers, and the Kremlin's seemingly nightmarish plans. In recent months the Poles have been persistently intimidated so frequently and so directly that they have simply grown bored with the routine radio provocations. The broad masses are now concerned by no means with external pseudothreats but with acute problems of an internal nature.

The endless, debilitating strikes--that is the most agonizing factor for the ordinary Pole, the alarming factor in present-day life. As an eyewitness to the latest 2-day strike on 23 and 24 January I can attest to how hard it was for hundreds of Warsaw women, because of the sudden paralysis of city transportation, to have to walk many kilometers, setting off very early, to get to work. Thousands of children were unable to get to school. Many people were stuck at Okęcie Airport because aircraft were not taking off. All the elevators were at a standstill in the capital's "Palace of Culture and Science" skyscraper which houses over 40 institutions, and they were not even serving heart-disease patients. Intercity telephone communications were cut. The danger arose that the city's sewage system would be out of operation. Indignant city-dwellers constantly telephoned the editorial office of the leading newspaper, TRYBUNA LUDU, demanding the publication of their appeals for an immediate halt to the anarchic chaos of administrative and economic disorganization.

Meanwhile, as a result of the strike at Warsaw's industrial enterprises Poles lost out on hundreds of new cars, tractors and combine harvesters. Housewives were deprived of many thousands of kilograms of detergent, which is in short supply, and hundreds of sewing machines. The stoppage at pharmaceutical factories reflected painfully on the production of the most essential medicines. The production of refrigerators, television sets, radio receivers, textiles and other consumer goods suffered substantially. Throughout the whole country nationwide losses on the strike day of 24 January alone were about Z5 billion. And in the months to come, the government has warned, if the senseless orgy of strikes continues Poland will lose additional industrial output and food worth further tens of billions of zloty.

"How and on what will we live in the future?" Warsaw television appealed to the commonsense of the citizens on 23 January.

And on the second day of the strike, it must be noted to the credit of the Polish working class, many working people were standing at the lathes of Warsaw's enterprises. The strike boycott, it was commonly believed, would probably have been far more considerable if the ubiquitous rabble-rousers from the Solidarity trade union association had not placed shock groups of functionaries at factory entrances in advance. They stopped working people on their way to work by force, threatened to beat them up for refusing to obey their orders, and wrote down the names of recalcitrants for future retribution. In addition they made verbal promises to punish plant and institution administrators to whom they objected. The Solidarity desperadoes have even noisily threatened to beat up young women workers from Warsaw's Rosa Luxemburg electrical goods factory who defied them. And when I wondered who was commanding these thugs and from where, I was given the names of one Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Solidarity trade union group in the Mazowsze Region, and the well-known Solidarity adviser Jacek Kuron, who operates from the headquarters of Solidarity's Warsaw branch, at No 5 Szpitalna Ulica.

Creeping Counterrevolution

Solidarity's Warsaw premises, in a gloomy six-story building, are organized on the principle of a submarine, with carefully isolated compartments. Ordinary visitors have access to a suite of rooms on the third floor where Solidarity members' propaganda leaflets and directive leaflets are distributed under the signature of the boss here, Bujak; and there is a sideline in the sale of the trade union association's badges. The staff are in separate, secluded premises. The most secret nooks are in the basement. For instance, 3 months ago pilfered documents from the Polish Prosecutor General's Office were brought here and were then smuggled abroad to several antisocialist centers. Here Kuron's illegal bulletin "The Worker" is published somewhere underground and distributed round the city at night.

During my visit to their headquarters Kuron and Bujak were not there; both had left for a meeting of Solidarity leaders at its chief center in Gdansk. Other leaders of Warsaw's "Solidarity membership" preferred to decline a Moscow journalist's questions on absurd pretexts. Instead I was presented with a packet of instructions signed by Bujak calling for strikes. Although formally the pretext for the strikes was considered to be the vexed issue of so-called "free Saturdays," nonetheless this problem, which the authorities agreed to settle constructively, was relegated to penultimate place in the strike demands. The Solidarity leaders' claim to be allowed to undertake uncontrolled agitation on radio and television was proclaimed as the first point.

The strike initiators' second demand claimed the repeal of state censorship and above all its key law on the defense of Poland's national security: "Freedom of speech and of the press must not be used to undermine Poland's international alliances or other important international interests." Those who oppose this, seeking to subordinate the mass information media, are essentially striving to discredit, with impunity, the Poles' alliance ties with their socialist neighbors, including the Soviet people.

The third point of the strike program demanded the release of a handful of arrested provocateurs who had openly advocated the breaking off of Poland's treaty relations with the Soviet Union and the armed overthrow of the Polish Government. In general the Solidarity ringleaders, while calling the organization apolitical, that is, allegedly a trade union association, have in fact mounted a fierce political struggle concealed by the pseudoeconomic camouflage of strikes.

"The unbridled extremism of Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Warsaw Solidarity, was inspired by the semilegal KOR [Workers Social Self-Defense Committee] organization headed by Jacek Kuron, mouthpiece of the antisocialist forces," it was explained to me by Antoni Kruczkowski, deputy chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU.

Zbigniew Bujak, a 26-year-old former electrical engineer, has himself frankly admitted aloud on many occasions that he was "raised and nurtured by the KOR cell" created by Kuron. And the latter has been intensely active for almost 20 years in the anti-socialist field, for which he has twice been imprisoned. Although it is a long time since he worked anywhere, he has been living comfortably on dollars and Bonn marks sent to him surreptitiously, organizing in his own apartment on Warsaw's Ulica Mickiewicza a base address for three dozen renegades who had come to hate socialism.

For many years they were joined only by a sorry clutch of "dissident intellectuals." Kuron's supporters tried to enlist support from Poland's Catholic clergy but met with a rebuff. They set about recruiting university students, and some of their recruits in Warsaw and Lodz are now shamelessly demanding a ban on the study of Marxism-Leninism and Russian language at universities although even now, as before, these onslaughts are condemned by the broad Polish public. So the intriguer Kuron would have vegetated in the political background had its representatives not been invited in 1975 to attend a confidential conference of antisocialist emigre riffraff in Geneva. Subsequently, with the blessing of the Western special services, Kuron's supporters set about implementing a new course in their subversive activity.

In 1976 the KOR scouts started to penetrate the shipyards at the Polish port of Gdansk and to whisper to the workers malicious accusations against the authorities over individual economic upsets. The Kuron supporters did not aim at the Gdansk shipyards by chance, for the work of the welders and riveters in the cramped ship holds was very hard and sometimes lower paid than the work of ordinary construction workers. For that reason worker-cadre turnover at the shipyards was 40 percent a year, and shipbuilders were to a considerable extent recruited by hiring young country boys from neighboring private peasant farms. It was the weak spots in their socialist conviction and understanding of general national interests, like the blunders of the administration and public organizations at the shipyards, that the Kuron supporters and their foreign inspirers were primarily seeking to use.

In addition, there are regular communications between Gdansk and the Swedish city of Stockholm, open to all without any visa formalities, and for that reason Kuron's supporters acquired an excellent outpost there for receiving foreign couriers with instructions, currency and propaganda materials.

"Through Gdansk Kuron was able to get literally whole briefcases full of dollars and Deutsches marks," I was told by the informed Warsaw journalist Frantisek Lewicki. "Kuron's supporters have made themselves out to be the workers' friends and have been unstinting in handouts to those who believed them. The KOR members had the mission of infiltrating the workers' milieu and setting simpletons against the PZPR, linking together economic claims against the authorities with KOR's antisocialist slogans and by this maneuver getting through to the front of the political stage on the crest of a wave of organized workers' demonstrations. Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, Deutsche Welle and other Western mass information media instantly gave them noisy radio publicity. Kuron even acquired 'strike experts' and printed textbooks on 'strike technique.' He became an influential adviser to the leading clique of the newborn Solidarity and set about giving orders for strikes at enterprises in Gdansk, Szczecin and Katowice.

He himself formulated and dictated the strikers' demands. Fueling the tension, Kuron's supporters are now trying to discredit our communist party still further and under cover of Solidarity to destroy Poland's socialist state organization structure from within...."

The "creeping counterrevolution"--that is how many Poles define the gist of the tactics of Kuron and his ilk.

Gifts for Gdansk

I have before me one of the provocative leaflets distributed around Gdansk 3 months after the start of the strikes there. The leaflet seems to hint gloomily at where the escalation of the disorders could lead. The text calls in an inflammatory way for... Gdansk's secession from Poland and the creation of "a new free city of Gdansk"! It is well known that the West German revanchists who dream of the return of the Polish port once under their control have already managed to cobble together in the FRG "a mission for the free city of Danzig." Their handwriting can also be seen on the Gdansk leaflet: In its top righthand corner is the black spider of the fascist swastika.

"Pay special attention to the swastika," Antoni Paczesniak, deputy editor in chief of the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, told me, handing over the leaflet. "The Hitlerite swastika, the symbol of the nightmare of German occupation which we endured, arouses revulsion and anger in every Polish patriot. There is no doubt that these leaflets are brought here from the West by the Nazis' obtuse successors. It is no secret that Bavarian Prime Minister Strauss proposes allocating hundreds of thousands of marks to destroy socialist power in Poland. The revanchists hope to swallow up the GDR and put the Western Polish lands in their pockets again. They are dreaming of recarving post-war European borders."

Wladislaw Zielinski, chief of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI's international section, says on the same subject:

"Revanchist leaflets are infiltrated into Gdansk, according to our information, via Sweden, along the same sea routes on which Bonn marks are sent to Kuron and tens of thousands of dollars are sent to Solidarity from the reactionary U.S. AFL-CIO labor union center, which has long cooperated with the CIA. We know that Kuron is closely linked with the West German agent Karl Gustav (Shtrem), who is now employed on Springer newspapers. In DIE WELT (Shtrem) recently praised his Polish fellow-thinker: 'Kuron also advocates the unification of Germany, because if this happened, as he says, Poland would have a border with a noncommunist state, which would greatly assist its internal development.' Kuron is the opposite of a Polish patriot! He is with those who would like to split and destroy Poland."

While I was in Gdansk I learned that the West German "Association of German Trade Unions" had sent Solidarity's Gdansk headquarters large sums of money. The AFL-CIO chiefs also sent \$160,000 there. A further \$320,000 were sent from Paris. Anticommunist funds in Chicago, London, Brussels and Oslo gave generously. What was this shower of gold actually watering? I decided to turn for an answer directly to the denizens of the Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk.

The Solidarity command occupies a roomy 5-story house on Grunwaldska Ulica. Daily meetings are held in a hall on the first floor. The administrative apparatus, with a multiplicity of administrative subdivisions, is located above. A section with interpreters for all European languages except Russian functions for the reception of foreigners. So I had to explain myself mostly in English.

The first question arose involuntarily when I saw on the wall of the interpreters' section a large cartoon poster: Above the Solidarity emblem loomed the dark shadows of the towers of Moscow's Kremlin with a scarlet hammer and sickle. On asking the surrounding Solidarity members to explain the meaning of the picture to me in more detail, I got nothing out of them.

"The meaning of the poster is not even clear to us," they said apologetically and shamefacedly. "We got the poster from Paris...."

Wojciech Gruszecki, a member of Solidarity's Supreme Presidium, was more direct. He admitted frankly that thousands of dollars had already been obtained from the United States and put to use. I asked:

"On what have you spent these thousands of dollars?"

"On financing our activity," he replied.

Gruszecki added that the Solidarity headquarters was equipped with a Japanese electronic printing machine for producing its own publications. They have also been "given," as he put it, French rotary presses and Peugeot automobiles, Norwegian typewriters and other technical equipment produced in Rome and Tokyo. And even the enormous photo of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on display in the headquarters came from Paris. Nonetheless Gruszecki seriously asserted that their trade union was purely Polish. I could scarcely contain myself....

What Next?

Meanwhile Solidarity presidium member Gruszecki, a refined intellectual with the absolutely unproletarian outward appearance of an esthete, blurted out to me the strategic aspirations of his confederates:

"We intend to leave only international problems, questions of defense and other foreign policy matters in the PZPR's hands. And the country's internal life will be determined by the self-rule method. And our Solidarity trade union association will be the basis of this system."

In brief, under the guise of trade union leaders the plotters are taking the bit between their teeth and straining for the peaks of political power. Gruszecki did not deny that their headquarters sanctions Solidarity members forcible seizure of public and state buildings in Polish cities. In some places the attackers have been armed. In Wroclaw the Solidarity branch has gone so far as to threaten to remove all the local enterprise directors who do not suit it. In Bielsko-Biala the city "Solidarity" ringleaders have demanded the collective resignation of the voivoda and his deputies and the mayor. In Rzeszow the Solidarity branch is falsely slandering and trying to remove R. Labus, first secretary of the voivodship PZPR committee and a Sejm deputy. In Olsztyn the slanderers from Solidarity have hunted down PZPR Committee First Secretary E. Wojnowski. His resignation was achieved by two of Olsztyn's Solidarity chiefs of whom one is a brawler and an alcoholic and the other a speculator who has grown rich from his activity.

"The extremists from Solidarity are now rushing to terrorize and kick out the best PZPR cadres in order to bleed white and fetter our party," I was told by Frantisek Lewicki at the TRYBUNA LUDU editorial office. "And they are hurrying because the workers are already grumbling about them. The strikes are leading to chronic disruptions in supplies to city stores. Labor productivity is dropping greatly at plants. People have become tired of the strikes and disturbances. Universal and bitter disillusionment is imminent."

At Gdansk shipyard veteran Jozef Wojcik complained disconsolately:

"Our workers' wages have been increased, yet they are living worse. The strikes have caused economic disorder and are delaying deliveries of the most essential commodities to the population. As a result a consumer service situation far worse than before is taking shape. In agitating for new strikes, the Solidarity loudmouths are displaying no trade union concern for organizing the working people's leisure and medical care, kindergartens for our small children or labor safety at the shipyard. And, if we go on striking so frequently, the foreign clients for our ships will cancel the deals they have concluded with us. And things will go really badly for us then!"

At the same shipyard where the embryo of Solidarity hatched 6 months ago, a young shipbuilder and team leader, Jerzy Draganski, confided in me and APN correspondent Igor Sinitsyn:

"I realize that my country's economic difficulties require strenuous labor by the workers to create the daily commodities the people need. And the strikes are hindering this. The time has come to end them."

"Enough of strikes!" was the urgent appeal put out by the Poznan youth organizations supported by many Polish production collectives. But even the undercover chiefs of Solidarity realize full well that the end of the confusion would mean their failure in the desperate struggle for political power. This is also understood by the foreign patrons of antisocialist elements in Poland. The near future will show who will prevail.

APPROVAL OF KANIA'S CSSR, GDR VISITS NOTED

LD191126 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 19 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb, TASS--A meeting of the Politbureau of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) Central Committee has been held here. It discussed the results of the talks of First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Kania with general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) Central Committee, President of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak and general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee, Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker.

According to a PAP agency report, it was pointed out at the meeting that the talks are of great significance for the development of friendly relations between Poland and its neighbour countries, cooperation of the Polish United Workers' Party with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as well as for cooperation between these states in all fields.

The Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee pointed out that of special significance are the numerous proofs of the understanding of Poland's difficulties and economic assistance from Czechoslovakia and the GDR. The results of the talks bear out that the fraternal parties--PZPR, KSC and SED are expressing their determination to develop further all-round cooperation in the spirit of socialist internationalism, of strengthening the fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the USSR in the name of consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The talks, the report points out, have borne out the striving for close cooperation in the implementation of the policy of detente, peace and disarmament. Necessity was expressed to counter attempts at building up tensions and exacerbating international relations, increasing the military potential as well as interference by the imperialist states in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, which is particularly clearly seen from the attitude to Poland. The sides stressed that it is necessary to put an end resolutely to any attempts at weakening the alliance of the countries of the socialist community.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have a vital stake in a stabilization of the situation in Poland, strengthening the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic as well as consolidating the leading role of the PZPR in the country's life, the report says.

The Politbureau has fully approved of the results of the talks. The Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee has also examined the plan of the most important measures, which stem from the decisions of the eighth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. Fully approving the programme which was set forth in the speech by Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski at the session of the Sejm, the Politbureau recommended that the whole of the party, the party authorities and organizations should actively support the measures of the government for streamlining the national economy and normalizing the socioeconomic situation in the country.

IZVESTIYA REPORTS ON HUSAK REMARKS ON POLAND

LD191125 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 81 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Inviolable Unity"]

[Text] Prague--Our party is politically, organizationally and ideologically united and firmly occupies positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian and socialist internationalism, G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has stated.

This has been confirmed by the report and election meetings and conferences being held throughout the country in the prologue to the 16th CPCZ Congress, he stressed in a speech at a regional party conference in the city of Kladno.

The unity of the party and the people, the speaker said, is the main political prop of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, the prop ensuring the system's complete stability. The ties of fraternity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will continue to be the main guarantee of Czechoslovakia's national freedom and state independence and the Czechoslovak people's peaceful life.

Under the complex conditions of the world economy's development, our country must resolutely introduce into practice new methods of planning and managing the national economy. This will make it possible to ensure the further growth of working people's well-being. Our party has emerged victorious from the difficult trials it has experienced in its long history because it has had tempered fighters in its ranks, communists who have fought selflessly wherever necessary.

Recently, G. Husak continued, reactionary imperialist circles have begun a new twist of the arms race. They are egging the peoples on toward conflicts and fueling an atmosphere of war psychosis. They are trying to destabilize the socialist countries and are making attacks, primarily on the Soviet Union.

Reactionary forces' attempts aimed at undermining the socialist system can be seen from the example of events in Poland. Poland is our ally, a fraternal country. It is our neighbor, with which we are linked by political, military and economic agreements, and we are not indifferent to the way the situation develops there.

We experienced something similar in 1968-69, G. Husak said, and we know the upheavals and economic dislocation that arose because of that and the time it took to overcome them.

Difficult and crucial work awaits the Polish comrades. We want them to struggle against socialism's enemies in the spirit of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions and to develop Poland as a socialist country marching in step with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, G. Husak stressed.

POLISH SECTOR TRADE UNIONS REGAIN LOST GROUND

LD181751 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Feb 81 p 3

[Special correspondent B. Stolpovskiy dispatch: "For the Good of Socialism"]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb--The Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which examined the question of the position, role and tasks of the trade union movement in Poland, emphasized its tremendous role in defending the working people's interests, shaping class consciousness and organizing the working class forces in the struggle for socialism. It was pointed out that the sector trade unions need more effective support, that they are developing and that their influence is growing among the working class.

We met Tadeusz Krasnodebski, chairman of the metalworkers trade union main board and member of the Polish sector trade unions coordinating commission.

"The Polish people," he said, "pin great hopes on the results of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which adopted important decisions aimed at overcoming difficulties and normalizing the situation in the country. The plenum confirmed that the sector trade unions are on the right road. They have rich traditions in the struggle for the working people's interests and for better living conditions for the working class, and they are developing the revolutionary experience of the class trade union movement."

[Question] Would you please tell me about the metalworkers trade union?

[Answer] Founded back in 1908, it is among the oldest and most experienced. Its ranks now unite more than 400,000 working people. Plant trade union committees are gaining strength and functions at more than 1,000 machine-building, heavy industry and shipbuilding enterprises. Our organizations have between 100 and 5,000 members, as, for example, at the Warsaw motor vehicle plant in the capital's Zeran District.

[Question] What is the trade union's program?

[Answer] We regard it as our task to defend the working people's interests and rights and improve their living and working conditions. Our trade union's 12th congress was held this January. New rules and a new program were adopted. The trade union adheres to the positions of socialism and recognizes the party's leading role. We resolutely uphold the socialist gains and struggle against all who seek to prevent stabilization, who are heaping up difficulties, which have already cost the country dearly, and who are trying to undermine socialism.

[Question] What problems is the trade union currently resolving?

[Answer] Chief attention is directed toward resuming the normal work rhythm and improving social and welfare conditions at enterprises. It was stated at the PZPR Central Committee plenum that proper attention has not been devoted to social problems, particularly in the past 6 months. We are placing emphasis on rectifying omissions in the sphere of health protection and labor safety in other spheres of our activity.

To activate work we are making changes to the trade union's structure. We are setting up district [oblastnyy] committees for regions covering between one and eight voivodships. They fulfill, above all, the functions of local coordinators, help to implement congress, plenum and trade union presidium decisions and have wide opportunities for their own initiative.

We support the appeal of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum addressed to all party members, trade unions, youth and other organizations and all patriotic forces to do everything to strengthen order and calm and for the normal functioning of our economy.

As leader of the metalworkers trade union, I am a member of the sector trade unions coordinating commission. This commission represents the interests of all sector trade unions. We are currently completing the drafting of the socioeconomic program. Such important questions as trade union participation in the process of national economic planning and social problems are at the center of its attention.

[Question] What is the commission's attitude to other trade unions which do not belong to it?

[Answer] We cooperate and will cooperate with all who are really guided in their activity by the interests of the working people and of socialist renewal. But we have opposed and will oppose the forces of chaos, anarchy and counterrevolution.

This stand is supported by working people at enterprises. I wish to point out the following fact, using the example of the metalworkers. No reduction in membership has been observed in our trade union over the past 3 months. The reverse process has begun. In January 2,000 of the working people who left our ranks under the influence of the events which had occurred in the country and of the demagoguery of Solidarity's leaders returned to us.

The popularity and influence of the sector trade unions are growing because they uphold ideals which are dear to all working people, strive for calm and normalization in production and in the country and work for the good of socialism and of People's Poland.

BRANCH TRADE UNIONS CHIEF SPEAKS AT PZPR PLENUM

LD181629 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Feb 81 p 5

[Special correspondent B. Stolpovskiy dispatch: "Responsibility for the Country's Fate"]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 February--Albin Szyszka, chairman of the conciliation commission of the Polish branch trade unions, spoke at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw. I would like, he said, at this high party forum to broach the problems of the trade union movement in Poland, which is currently undergoing a complex process of renewal. It must be stressed that the branch trade unions deny the false concept of so-called trade union independence, which is expressed in the avoidance of responsibility for the fate of society as a whole. The advancement of unrealistic and unfounded demands which contradict our social and economic situation does not serve the interests of the working people. Such a course leads to the aggravation of our difficulties. The speaker went on to state that the Polish branch trade unions are ready to cooperate closely with all forces which are genuinely seeking a socialist renewal of social, political and economic life. They condemn those who would like to deflect our country from the path of socialism.

Touching on the branch trade unions' tasks, A. Szyszka stressed that labor collectives are the basis of their activity. The main thing is active participation in the struggle to achieve a boost in production and the whole of the economy.

As a result of the organizational split in the trade union movement in Poland, A. Szyszka went on to say, a serious regression in resolving every day social problems has occurred. Trade union activity in the sphere of work protection has been paralyzed, spoilage in production has increased and facilities for providing children with various forms of leisure during the school vacations have decreased. The cooperation of all trade unions in resolving these important questions is necessary.

A. Szyszka stressed the great significance of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum for the fate of the trade union movement in the country. Without the cohesion of all people of labor there can be no strong trade unions representing the genuine interests of the working people.

ARKHIPOV HAS TALKS WITH CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS

LD181221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 81 p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Feb--G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, received here today I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit.

In the course of friendly talks a high assessment was made of the comprehensive development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. Certain questions of mutual cooperation connected with the fulfillment of the 5-year plans for 1981-85 and with the deepening socialist integration and collaboration were also discussed.

I.V. Arkhpov was also received by CSSR Premier L. Strougal.

USSR, ROMANIA SIGN TRADE PROTOCOL FOR 1981

LD181645 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 81 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A protocol on trade turnover and payments between the Soviet Union and Romania for 1981 was signed in Moscow on 13 February. The volume of trade turnover will exceed the 1980 level and will total more than R3 billion. In the course of preparing the protocol the sides proceeded on the basis of the results of coordination of state plans between the USSR and Romania for 1981-85, and also other agreements on economic cooperation.

In the current year the USSR will continue to supply Romania with the traditional types of machines and equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, power industry and mining equipment, trucks, road building machines, aviation hardware, ships and equipment for them, and also basic raw materials, including coking coal, iron ore, pig iron, ferroalloys, rolled ferrous metals, natural gas and other goods.

Romania will supply the USSR with machines and equipment, chemical goods, sawn timber, foodstuffs and other consumer goods.

The fulfillment of commitments envisaged in the protocol for 1981 will promote the implementation of state plans for national economic development, the improvement of production efficiency and the fuller satisfaction of the population's requirements in both countries and will create a good basis for the further development and deepening of economic cooperation for the entire 5-year plan period.

The protocol was signed by N.S. Patolichev, USSR minister of foreign trade, and C. Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

T. Dudas, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the signing of the protocol.

On the same day a talk took place between S.A. Skachkov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and C. Burtica. Questions of Soviet-Romanian economic and technical cooperation were discussed.

BRIEFS

JOINT PROTOCOL WITH ROMANIA--The 13th meeting of the Soviet-Romanian group for economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the sphere of the electrotechnical industry ended in Tashkent on 23 January with the signing of a joint protocol. Over a period of 3 days its participants discussed the prospects for further development of cooperation between the two fraternal countries. In the present 5-year period it is intended to increase by 250 percent reciprocal deliveries of equipment, said Comrade Zhuchkov, head of the Soviet group and deputy minister of the Electrical Equipment Ministry of the USSR. There will be a considerable increase in the range of products; the participants in the Tashkent meeting agreed on the range, volume and technical specifications of the reciprocally delivered equipment. They approved the plans for further scientific and technical cooperation. A draft was prepared on the basic directions for developing long-term specialization and cooperation between the electrical equipment industries of the USSR and Romania. [Text] [Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Jan 81 LD]

SAVCHENKO COMMENTS ON SOVIET MIDDLE EAST STANDS

GF171300 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Igor Savchenko commentary]

[Text] Some of the Iranian authorities in their statements have asked the Soviet Union to explain its stand on the Iran-Iraq conflict and the supply of arms to Iraq. They even asked for an explanation on Soviet policy toward Israel, which is acting as an aggressive power in the Middle East. Our commentator Igor Savchenko writes:

First of all I should say that this sort of statement is very strange because the Soviet Union's policy on each of these questions was explained long ago. Only those who do not want to know anything are not aware of this policy. The Soviet leaders in their speeches a number of times have explained Soviet policy on the Iran-Iraq conflict. Everyone is aware of the statement made by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. He declared: We are requesting that the Iran-Iraq conflict be solved by a political solution as soon as possible with the efforts of both parties concerned.

The Persian Gulf region, like the other regions of the world, is the responsibility of countries of that area and no others. No one has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. The Soviet Union's stand and position on arms deliveries to the countries involved stems from this. It is only the Western propaganda machines that publish provocative rumors about Soviet arms deliveries to Iraq and Iran. The reality is that the Soviet Union from the beginning of the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war has not delivered and will not deliver arms to either side in the conflict. The Soviet Government has pointed this out several times. It is strange that some people in Iran pretend they know nothing of this.

As regards the request that the Soviet Union should explain its position toward Israel and its aggression, we should say that this request is truly strange and not worthy of an answer. A large number of communiques have been issued on this matter. It will suffice if we quote one of recent comments by Leonid Brezhnev who said that all the Arab lands occupied by Israel, including eastern Jerusalem, should be returned unconditionally to the Arabs. It is necessary that the Palestinian Arabs be given their national rights and the right to establish an independent state.

The Soviet Union supports the Arabs in achieving these rights. These are the realities of the Soviet Union's policies, which are known to everyone. Only those who have not read a newspaper or listened to the radio do not know this, and they have no concept of current affairs.

SOVIET-IRANIAN TIES REVIEWED ON REVOLUTION JUBILEE

LD191055 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Feb 81 p 3

[V. Samarin article: "Two Years Since the February Revolution"]

[Excerpts] The influential U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK wrote in an editorial not so long ago: "Left to its own devices, of course, Iran seems capable of doing almost anything it pleases."

What contempt there is for the Iranians in these words. At the same time, what imperial longing for the irretrievably lost times when Iran was in fact at the complete disposal of the U.S. imperialist monopolies and when tens of thousands of U.S. servicemen felt at home in the country.

In short, NEWSWEEK and its imperialist bosses have cause for regret in connection with Iran's revolution in February 1979. It dealt a serious blow to the antipopular exploiting forces' military, political and economic positions. Its main characteristics are not only its antimonarchical thrust but also its vividly expressed anti-imperialist character.

Important measures have been implemented in the sphere of the national economy.

It can be said without exaggeration that all Iran's socioeconomic transformations have been achieved within the sights of U.S. aircraft carriers. The largest U.S. naval armada in history, brought together during Carter's time, remains close to Iran's shores even now.

The past 2 years have shown the Iranian people and the whole world with full clarity that Iran's most peaceful border is its 2,500 km northern one. This is the border with the Soviet Union. Our country has always regarded the Iranian people and their expectations, difficulties and problems with compassion and sympathy. When the young Soviet republic concluded its treaty with Iran on the development of good-neighborly relations in February 1921, it declared all treaties, pacts, conventions and agreements between the former tsarist government and Persia to the detriment of the Persian people's rights as repealed and inoperative. At the same time, the Soviet Government waived Iran's debts to Russia and transferred to it without charge the tsarist government's former property; its bank, railroads and highways, the entire port of Anzali, steam ships and so forth. The value of this property was almost R600 million in gold--a very considerable sum both then and now.

Our peoples have always striven for good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation. With Soviet assistance Iran has built a metallurgical plant with a full production cycle with a capacity of 550,000 tons of steel annually and its own coal and raw material base, a machine building plant, grain elevators, a hydro-engineering complex and a number of other projects--88 in all.

The Soviet Union regarded the revolutionary transformations begun by the Iranian people in their own country with complete understanding. As long ago as November 1978, when the defenders of the shah's throne and particularly the United States began to threaten Iran with military invasion our country defined its position very clearly. L.I. Brezhnev's answer to a PRAVDA correspondent's question said: "The Soviet Union, which maintains traditional good-neighborly relations with Iran, resolutely states that it opposes external interference in Iran's internal affairs by anyone, in any form and on any pretext. Events of a purely internal nature are taking place in that country and the issues connected with them must be resolved by the Iranians themselves."

The Iranian revolution is following a hard, thorny path. Hostile forces, both internal and external, are trying to push it from its anti-imperialist course. U.S. imperialists and Beijing hegemonists, disguising themselves in the cloak of defenders of Islam, are striving to sow discord and distrust between our countries on religious grounds and allege a mythical threat from the north. However, life itself convincingly refutes these absurd fictions.

Commemorating the Iranian revolution's second anniversary, Soviet people wish their southern neighbor success and prosperity and hope that the relations of good neighborliness between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Iran will be fruitfully developed under the new conditions on the firm basis of mutual respect, good will and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

KRASNOV LAUDS SOVIET-SYRIAN TREATY, COOPERATION

LD182350 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1500 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Aleksandr Krasnov commentary: "Friends and Comrades in Struggle"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress will open on Monday 23 February. This is a great event not just as far as the Soviet people are concerned, but also as far as their friends and allies and all progressive mankind are concerned. This applies fully to the Arabs and the other developing countries alike.

On this occasion we would like to talk about the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and Syria. Here is what the Soviet journalist, Aleksandr Krasnov had to say:

In his speech at the 25th CPSU Congress Brezhnev said a good understanding was formed between us and Syria in the previous 5-year plan and we are acting in a coordinated manner on a number of international problems, particularly the Middle East problem. We can attribute this appraisal of Soviet-Syrian relations to the past 5-year plan following the 26th [as heard] CPSU Congress. During those years Syria asserted, through its policy, that it is one of the main centers of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries aimed at the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel and at establishing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and against the hegemony and expansion of the United States in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean region.

The Syrian people are achieving progressive social and economic changes inside the country in favor of the workers and are solving difficult tasks for the development of the economy and for raising the material and cultural standard of the inhabitants. All this shows the unity of the main interests of both the Soviet and the Syrian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and in upholding peace and the security of peoples.

Soviet-Syrian relations are today a comprehensive collection of [word indistinct] which are successfully developing in the government, party and social fields. The Soviet Union and Syria act in harmony on the world level. It is worth mentioning in particular the projection of one of the most important trends of cooperation between the two countries--the struggle for the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East dispute. The Soviet Union highly appreciates the principled stand of the Syrian leadership on the issues of the Middle East and its effective contribution to consolidating the unity of the Arab states to confront the machinations of imperialism and its collaborators. This attitude of Syria and that of the other participants in the Arab Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation, has exposed the new imperialist nature of the policy of Camp David and created for it a deep crisis. But the imperialists and their followers do not cease their attempts to impose Camp David on the Arabs and exert pressure on Syria and other Arab countries, seeking to force them into backing down from their anti-imperialist course and making them take the path of capitulation like that of the As-Sadat regime. Israel's armed provocations in southern Lebanon and near Syria's borders, as well as the subversive activities of the reactionary forces inside these countries, also serve these objectives. Under such circumstances [words indistinct] Soviet-Syrian treaty signed last year and in which both sides expressed their determination to firmly confront the policy of aggression. It is not fortuitous that the signing of the treaty was received with obvious resentment in the camp of imperialism and reaction. In contrast, it was welcomed by all the progressive and peace-loving forces, particularly in the Middle East.

Leonid Brezhnev pointed this out by saying: It can be precisely said that the treaty conforms with the main interests of all the peoples of this region.

I would like to draw the attention of our listeners to another aspect of Soviet-Syrian cooperation, namely the aspect of [word indistinct]. The reason for this is that the consolidation of Syria's economy under the circumstances of extensive pressure on it by the forces of imperialism and the subversive activity of reaction, allows Syria to confront the conspiracies of these hostile forces. A. Krasnov adds: At the same time all the Syrians I had the chance to meet pointed to the great importance of Soviet assistance in building the independent economy of their country. This is confirmed by figures. So far, more than 20 projects have been launched by Soviet-Syrian cooperation, including the Euphrates complex. Work is being carried out on 18 other projects.

It is worth mentioning in particular the fact that the main trend of economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria is the development of the main branches of the country's economy: energy, extraction of oil, transportation and irrigation and other branches which are of great importance to the development of the independent national economy and the raising of the living standard of the Syrian people.

In conclusion I would like to point out that Soviet-Syrian cooperation is of great international importance. As was contained in the Soviet-Syrian treaty of friendship and cooperation, the Soviet Union and Syria are committed to working by all means for the consolidation of comprehensive peace and security, and help in the relaxation of tension and to remove any signs of the policy of hegemony and aggression in international relations. This cooperation assumes particular importance in the present international situation which has gravely deteriorated as a result of the machinations of the forces of imperialism. The consolidation of Soviet-Syrian cooperation, which is embodied in the unity of the forces of world socialism and the national liberation movement, is considered an effective contribution in the confrontation which the peoples who are struggling for freedom and independence and for durable peace on earth against the plots of imperialism, are now showing.

ETHIOPIA SEEKS TO STRENGTHEN LINKS WITH USSR

LD181555 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 81 p 5

[TASS report: "Important Tasks"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 14 February--Ethiopia will continue to strengthen solidarity with the Communist Party, government and people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and to develop relations with all progressive forces struggling for freedom and independence. This is stated in a decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Commission to Organize the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) which has just ended here. Strengthening and further developing cooperation with friendly socialist countries, the document points out, provide guarantees of the revolution's ultimate victory and the creation of the foundations of a socialist society in Ethiopia.

After examining current problems concerning the building of a new society in the country the plenum stressed the need to improve the organizational structure of the all-Ethiopian trade union and the all-Ethiopian association of peasants in order to secure the working people's broad participation in economic, political and public life and to increase the level of production.

The plenum specified the tasks facing revolutionary Ethiopia's association of youth and association of women. It pointed out the importance of conducting broad discussions in order to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among every section of the population.

In the agricultural sphere, COPWE lays greatest stress on developing it on the basis of production cooperatives, and in the sphere of industry, on increasing its importance in the national economy for satisfying the population's needs and for the subsequent creation of heavy industry.

COPWE devoted particular attention to questions relating to strengthening the country's defense capability in the face of the incessant intrigues of international imperialism and reaction. The plenum approved a number of measures to improve the army's structure and adopted a decision to introduce compulsory military service in the country.

REPORTS OF SOVIET-AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS 'LIE'

LD170444 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 16 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb, TASS--The newspaper IZVESTIYA describes a fresh false report started by Western propaganda as a lie. "It appears," the newspaper writes, "that Soviet envoys in Zurich are engaged in 'top-secret trade negotiations' with...South Africa concerning the purchase of 490,000 tons of phosphate fertilizers and the joint sales of gold in the world market."

The Russians need that, the inventors of this falsehood theorise with an air of importance, to "patch up the holes left in the Soviet economy by the U.S. policy of embargo." The ill-intentioned lie of the inventors of such falsehoods can compete only with their total ignorance concerning the state of the Soviet economy. And, of course, it comes as no surprise that provocative report has been willingly picked up by Pretoria. But what is to be said about PARIS-MATCH and Paris-based JEUNE AFRIQUE which fell for this obvious lie? The whole wide world knows that the Soviet Union has opposed the policy of apartheid resolutely and consistently, and that the Soviet Union, unlike Western countries, strictly observes the United Nations decisions concerning the economic sanctions against the racist regime.

The attempt to place the blame at some other's door and to accuse the Soviet Union of mythical trade contacts with South Africa is as groundless as the inventions about "aggressive designs of the Soviets" in the south of Africa. A lie no matter how much twisted still remains a lie.

MARSHALL OGARKOV'S RETURN FROM CUBA REPORTED

LD181623 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 81 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] The friendly visit to Cuba by a Soviet military delegation headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, has come to an end. The delegation was invited by Army Gen Raul Castro, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee, first vice president of the State Council and Council of Ministers and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. During its stay in the country the delegation toured a number of the republic's provinces, visited the city of Santiago de Cuba and the Isle of Youth. It was accompanied on the trip by R. Castro and other Cuban military leaders and by V.I. Vorotnikov, USSR ambassador to Cuba.

N.V. Ogarkov and the delegation members met with representatives of the public and production collectives, called on Cuban servicemen and visited Cuban military training establishments. In Havana a meeting took place between the Soviet military delegation and R. Castro which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Delegation head N.V. Ogarkov was received by and had a talk with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

On 13 February the Soviet military delegation left for home. At the capital's Jose Marti International Airport the delegation was seen off by R. Castro, generals and officers of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces and other officials.

On 13 February Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow from Havana.

At Sheremetyevo Airport Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov was met by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister; USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Marshal of Aviation A.I. Koldunov and Army Gen S.K. Kurkotkin; USSR Armed Forces Deputy Chiefs of Staff Army Gen V.I. Varenchikov, Col Gen V.Ya. Abolins, Adm N.N. Amelko and Marshal of Signal Troops A.I. Belov and other Soviet generals, admirals and officers. The welcoming party included Severo Aguirre del Cristo, Cuban ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, and Col. Montseny Vacc, military, naval and air attache at the Cuban Embassy in the USSR.

SANDINIST LEADER CITED ON 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

LD181024 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Managua, 18 Feb, TASS--TASS correspondent Aleksander Voropayev reports: There is no doubt that the forthcoming 26th Congress of the CPSU will become an event of big historic importance and that its decisions will play an exceptionally important role in protecting the fundamental interests of the whole of mankind, it was stated by Carlos Nunez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, chairman of the State Council of Nicaragua, who is heading the front's official delegation that will take part in the work of the 26th CPSU Congress. The delegation has left the Nicaraguan capital. Speaking further in the TASS interview Carlos Nunez said that peace on earth was seriously endangered now. The international situation is becoming increasingly complicated because of the intrigues of American imperialism, Carlos Nunez said. The aggressive policy of some states is becoming increasingly evident and we feel this especially acutely in our country and in the Central American region, the member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front said in conclusion.

FURTHER COVERAGE OF 25TH GEORGIAN CP CONGRESS

Shevardnadze Report

LD101055 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Jan 81 pp 1-10

[Text of "Georgian CP Central Committee Report to the 26th Georgian CP Congress, delivered 22 January 1981 by Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Comrades!

The 26th Georgian CP Congress has started work. Under the Leninist tradition, the congress--the republic party organization's supreme collective organ--will sum up the results of the last 5 years and will determine an action program for the period through the next 27th Georgian CP Congress, for the 11th 5-Year Plan, and for the eighties as a whole.

Our congress is meeting on the threshold of an event of the greatest historic significance--the 26th congress of the great Lenin's party, a congress that will open up new horizons in communist building. The period between the 25th and 26th party congress has been an important new stage in the life of the CPSU, the whole Soviet country, the Georgian CP and the republic.

During the last 5 years, during the latter half of the seventies, having finished building a developed socialist society, the Soviet people and their Communist Party, as Leonid Ilich Brezhnev pointed out, have had the opportunity to switch to the direct building of communism.

The seventies and the 10th 5-Year Plan will occupy a special place in the history of Soviet Georgia and the republic's Communist Party: Never have we experienced such a scope and scale of economic and social development as we experienced in the last 5 years, never have we scaled such heights in increasing working people's material and spiritual well-being as we scaled in the 10th 5-Year Plan. Eloquent evidence of this is provided by seven CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banners. The 10th 5-Year Plan might figuratively be called "Soviet Georgia's Red Banner 5-year plan." The worthy finale was the republic's fulfillment of the plan targets and socialist pledges ahead of schedule--by 20 November.

The Central Committee reports to the congress that, overall, the Georgian CP has fulfilled the task that the 25th CPSU congress set for our republic.

I DO NOT THINK I WILL BE WRONG IF I SAY THAT THE LATTER HALF OF THE SEVENTIES CAN BE REGARDED AS A TRANSITION TO THE FINAL IRREVERSIBLE ASSERTION IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE POSITIVE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES THAT BEGAN AFTER THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S WELL-KNOWN RESOLUTION ON THE TBILISI GORKOM.

The seventies have receded into history, but they belong to our time and to the future, for they laid the cornerstone, the firm foundation, for overcoming the republic's relative lag behind the average union level in terms of industrial and general economic development and created reliable preconditions for overcoming that lag once and for all in the eighties.

All our successes are the result of the Leninist concern of the party, the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev for Georgia, the Georgian party organization and the republic's working people.

Georgia's working people see this as a fitting continuation by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev of the Leninist traditions of concern for the union republics and for all the Soviet land's nations and nationalities.

Fundamental resolutions which played a historic role in the further blossoming of the republic's economy and culture in the seventies were adopted on Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's initiative. The resolutions on the organizational and political work of the Tbilisi Georgian CP Gorkom, on the Georgian party organization's work to implement the CPSU Central Committee decisions on Tbilisi Gorkom, on developing Georgia's economy, increasing the production of southern and subtropical crops and further developing agriculture in the Georgian SSR, and on developing Abkhazia's economy and culture. Milestones for the republic's economy were the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on constructing the Marneuli heavy and special-purpose machine tool building plant, on fundamentally modernizing the Kutaisi G.K. Ordzhonikidze motor vehicle plant, and on creating capacities for the production of facilities for the small-scale mechanization of agricultural operations in Kutaisi, and other party and state documents.

The work of almost every Georgian CP Central Committee plenum and the republic's party aktiv has been enriched with new content by Leonid Ilich's advice and admonitions, and the conversations and meetings with him and his directions and guidelines have roused the communists and the working people to new labor exploits. L.I. Brezhnev has systematically inquired after the state of affairs in all sectors of the republic's national economy, especially capital construction.

You have to have outstanding organizational talent to scrutinize, in so detailed and businesslike a fashion, all matters, great and small, in the world's most enormous country.

The work style of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the outstanding organizer and theorist of communist building, is a truly Leninist style, a fusion of the scientific strength of Marxism-Leninism with rich practical experience of communist creative work. Our party organization, every communist and every leader are learning this style of work from Leonid Ilich.

The 26th Georgian CP Congress sends warm greetings and cordial gratitude, from the depths of the people's heart; to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, for their Leninist concern for our republic and their herculean labor in the name of building communism in our country, of Leninist domestic and foreign policy, and of strengthening and consolidation of peace throughout the world!

Comrades!

Delegates will remember that at the 25th Georgian CP Congress the attention of the report and all the congress proceedings focused on man, on the communist. The Central Committee believes that the 26th Georgian CP Congress will be held under the slogan of FURTHER DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY AND STRENGTHENING DISCIPLINE AND ON THIS BASIS INCREASING THE MASSES' CREATIVE ACTIVENESS. There is a profound logical interconnection between the two congresses. Democracy, discipline and activeness are not ends in themselves. Those social categories primarily serve man and society. Vivid confirmation of that is provided by the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th party congress "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990," which has proved a new triumph of socialist democracy.

We view the problems of developing democratic centralism and intraparty democracy in the light of L.I. Brezhnev's well-known proposition that "...our developed socialist society is also a society of developed socialist democracy. AT THE STAGE OF MATURE SOCIALISM, UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, WORKING PEOPLE'S INCREASINGLY BROAD AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY'S LIFE IS FIRMLY ESTABLISHED AS THE CENTRAL TREND IN SOVIET SOCIETY'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT."

Our congress is a concentrated expression of the spirit of our entire party organization: Its political, social, economic and cultural values, style and methods of work, revolutionary tempering and organization and profound democratism. It is this that prompted the proposal to FORM 15 WORKING GROUPS AT THE CONGRESS to discuss and formulate recommendations on vital issues of party building and of the leadership of the economy and culture; at the end of the congress proceedings these groups will be turned into standing working commissions and will continue their work through the 27th party congress.

Thus what is being set up is one more harmonious system for further developing intra-party democracy, a system affecting both the form and the content of party work and of the holding of the congress, a system brought into being by life and prompted by practice and the need to improve party work under conditions of mature socialism.

While it casts a retrospective glance at the seventies, our congress is altogether forward-looking, toward the nineteen eighties and nineties. THE FUTURE IS THE MAIN DELEGATE AT OUR CONGRESS.

I. The Work of the Georgian Party Organization to Accelerate the Republic's Economic and Social Development and Tasks in Further Improving It During the 11th 5-Year Plan and for the Foreseeable Future

1. Ensuring Intensive Growth in the Republic's Global Social Product and National Income

Comrades!

In view of the fact that the congress is to hear a detailed Council of Ministers report on the national economy's draft basic guidelines for the 11th 5-Year Plan, the Central Committee report will concentrate largely on basic questions of the strategy and tactics of leading the republic's economic and social development.

As is well known, the 22 June 1976 CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Georgian party organization adopted the indicators of per capita volume of global social product and national income as the main criterion for assessing the alignment [vyravnivaniye] of the republic's level of economic development.

During the seventies great qualitative shifts took place in the republic's national economy. During the last 5-year plan alone global social product increased by more than 42 percent and reached about R16 billion, while the national income that was produced increased by 43 percent, totaling R7.3 billion in 1980.

Over the [first] 4 years of the 10th 5-Year Plan the renewal ratio totaled 28 percent of all production capital. Labor productivity growth accounted for 86 percent of the increase in national income and 74 percent of the increase in industrial output. As a result, according to preliminary data, during the 10th 5-Year Plan alone the republic's lag behind the general union per capital production volumes decreased by 14 percent in terms of national income, 9 percent in terms of industrial output and 8 percent in terms of agricultural output.

THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT GAINS BY THE REPUBLIC'S COMMUNIST PARTY DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW.

The tendency for our contribution to the unionwide economic potential to show a consistent increase strengthened during the seventies. During the 11th 5-Year Plan the increased efficiency and improved general economic proportions will also be expressed in the assertion of the tendency FOR THE NATIONAL INCOME PRODUCED ON THE REPUBLIC'S TERRITORY TO EXCEED THE NATIONAL INCOME CONSUMED.

The trend toward that kind of correlation between the national income produced and the national income consumed on Georgian territory--a trend based on the republic's growing contribution to the all-union economic potential and on the continued implementation of the laws of expanded reproduction--must be deemed positive. THIS TREND EMERGED, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN GEORGIA'S HISTORY, DURING THE SEVENTIES AND REFLECTS MAJOR SHIFTS IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

The increase in per capita production of national income is an extremely important indicator of general economic development. In 1981-85 this indicator will show an increase of 25 percent, in the 12th 5-Year Plan it will increase by 28 percent, and for 1981-90 as a whole, the increase will be 60 percent.

THE COMING DECADE MUST BE THE CULMINATING STAGE IN IMPLEMENTING THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR OVERCOMING THE GEORGIAN SSR'S EXISTING SLIGHT [IZVESTNY] LAG BEHIND THE AVERAGE UNION LEVEL IN TERMS OF THE MAIN GENERALIZING INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

In fact the global social product will reach more than R21 billion in 1985 and R28 billion in 1990. The national income produced on the republic's territory will be almost R10 billion in 1985 and R13 billion in 1990.

During the eighties the plan is for increasing preferential growth of the accumulation fund, as compared with the consumption fund, which stems from the need to surmount the considerable lag in the national economy's material and technical base.

I think I must tell the congress that the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans, like the 9th and 10th, have their own specific nature and peculiarities in the republic in view of local conditions.

Despite the firmly established trend toward a reduction, the gap between the republic and the average union indicators expressing the degree of general economic and industrial development is still substantial, and in terms of those indicators the Georgian SSR is lagging an average of 15 percent.

TO MINIMIZE THE AFOREMENTIONED DISCREPANCIES AND, IN TERMS OF SOME INDICATORS, TO SURPASS THE AVERAGE UNION LEVEL--AND THAT HAS BECOME TRADITIONAL FOR OUR REPUBLIC--IS A KEY ISSUE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES OVER THE COMING DECADE.

Raykoms, gorkoms, primary party organizations, ministries and departments must be required to scrutinize the economy more profoundly and to seek and find reserves for increasing the global social product and national income on the scale of each city and rayon.

2. The Basic Results of Industry's Development During the 10th 5-Year Plan and Soviet Georgia's Industrial Development Program for the 11th 5-Year Plan and the Foreseeable Future

Comrades: The Georgian CP Central Committee reports to the congress that the republic's industrial production, as envisaged by the plan, increased by 41 percent over the course of the 5-year plan; the cherished height was scaled!

Thus the promise made to the 25th CPSU Congress has been honorably fulfilled.

This is a great victory, comrades!

The city of Tbilisi, the Abkhazaskaya ASSR, the Adzharskaya ASSR, the cities of Kutaisi, Chiatura, Tkibuli, Zugdidi and Tskhaltubo, Lagodekhskiy, Marneulski, Makharadzevski, Samtredski, Signakhski, Telavski, Khashurski and other rayons and cities and the majority of ministries, departments, production associations and enterprises coped successfully with fulfilling the plans for increased production.

Many labor collectives completed the 10th 5-Year Plan targets ahead of schedule, thereby laying a firm foundation for a successful start this year. They include the collectives of the Gruzneft Production Association, the Chiaturmarganets mining combine, the Gruzbornokhimprom Production Association, the Kutaisi motor vehicle plant, the Mion research institute and its plant and many others.

During the 10th 5-Year Plan the collective of Tbilisi's Dimitrov aviation plant scored considerable successes. The plant reached the average sectorial level for the union in terms of the most important economic indicators and actually surpassed them in terms of labor productivity growth rates, return on capital and production volume. The aircraft builders have decided to work during the 11th 5-Year Plan under the slogan "Every Enterprise Must Be Among the Best in the Sector, the Best in the Republic." The slogan is already gaining followers in enterprises in Tbilisi city.

EVERY LABOR COLLECTIVE MUST SEEK TO BE THE BEST IN THE CITY, THE REPUBLIC, THE SECTOR AND THE COUNTRY TOO.

No other pace suits us. This is the only way we can resolve our most important task of surmounting the republic's relative lag behind the average union level in terms of industrial development.

New heights have been scaled in the struggle to steadily improve industrial output quality. A harmonious quality control system has been devised and introduced. Five years ago the republic produced only a little more than 200 articles bearing the state seal of quality, but today it produces 2,263 such articles. Output in this category constitutes 21 percent of the total volume of output. This is a major breakthrough in the struggle for quality. Some of our enterprises mark more than half their output with the honorary pentagonal seal. They include the Kutaisi motor vehicle plant, the Tbilisi arc-welding equipment plant, Poti's Elektroapparat plant and others. And all the output of the Gruzelektromash Production Association's Mikrodvigatel plant in Tbilisi bears the seal of quality. Such important articles for the national economy as motor vehicles, electric trolleys, steel pipes, metal-cutting and grinding machine tools, chemical fibers and manganese concentrates have recently been awarded the seal of quality.

During the seventies the struggle to increase social production efficiency became truly universal. Reserves that ensured the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the national economic plans were placed in the service of the 5-year plan. As a result social production efficiency is improving steadily. The return on capital in the republic's national economy has increased by 5 percent. Labor productivity in industry has increased by 27.2 percent, and the increase in social labor productivity as a whole was 40 percent, as against 35 percent according to the 5-year plan calculations. The utilization of production equipment improved and the shift index in machine building rose by 17 percent. Losses of worktime declined by more than 30 percent.

Considerable successes have been achieved in saving electricity, fuel, metal, cement, commercial timber and other material resources.

More than 300 new types of machine, equipment, apparatus, instrument and automation facilities have been created, 620 sections. Shops and production facilities have been comprehensively mechanized and automated, and 1,180 mechanized flow and automatic lines have been commissioned. The saving resulting from the introduction of scientific and technical achievements was R220 million.

During the 10th 5-Year Plan many interesting new forms and methods emerged in the practice of the struggle for efficiency and quality in our republic.

A republic commission and commissions for quality under all party committees and in ministries, departments, enterprises and construction organizations were formed to coordinate and administer all work to improve the quality of the output being turned out.

In short, all party organizations and economic components were mobilized for the struggle for quality.

I must say, comrades, that the results of this work are most gratifying. In terms of this indicator we have now moved from among the tail-enders to third place in the country.

Moreover, 17 standing commissions under the leadership of Central Committee secretaries, Bureau members, section chiefs, deputy chairmen of the council of ministers, ministers and so forth have worked on the 17 main indicators of the republic's economic and social development, coordinating the activity of a great number of people and collectives and guiding processes in order to achieve the end result. And with every passing year the system of work was improved and polished and the results got better.

THE CREATION OF THE COMMISSIONS ON THE 17 MAIN INDICATORS FOR INDUSTRY AND THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ECONOMY SHOULD BE REGARDED AS A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF PRODUCTION ORGANIZATION, as new experience accumulated by the Georgian CP in the sphere of the correct combination of centralized leadership and local initiative, and as a new approach to regional problems in developing the unified unionwide economy.

The seventies were years of a major breakthrough in the sphere of improving efficiency and quality.

This work will be continued, for IN THE EIGHTIES THE SLOGAN "EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY" WILL HAVE A STILL MORE TOPICAL RING THAN IT DID IN THE 10TH 5-YEAR PLAN. So we must pay special attention to unsolved problems in this matter. And there are a considerable number of such problems:

In 1980--the concluding year of the 10th 5-Year Plan--many enterprises under union jurisdiction failed to fulfill the plan for increased labor productivity. The Rustavi chemical plant, the Kvaisi lead and zinc ore administration, Zestafoni's Gruzkael plant, the Tbilisi machine tool-building production association and certain others were significantly behind.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and many ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations in the republic are still mishandling the process of increasing labor productivity. We must formulate a precise program--broken down both sectorially and regionally--to ensure that the targets for increased labor productivity in the 11th 5-Year plan are unconditionally fulfilled for the republic's industry as a whole.

Work to introduce progressive ways of increasing labor productivity such as the Shchekino method and the team form of labor organization and remuneration must be developed more extensively. BEFORE THE END OF THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN THE TEAM FORM OF WORK MUST COVER AT LEAST 60-70 PERCENT OF PRODUCTION WORKERS.

The mechanization and automation of production processes is a most important reserve for increased labor productivity and a global task of the 11th 5-Year Plan. However, this reserve has still not been sufficiently brought into play. More than 55 percent of the total number of workers in the republic's industrial enterprises are engaged in manual labor, including about 15 percent engaged in heavy manual labor.

A comprehensive targeted program for mechanizing manual labor in the republic's national economy during the 11th 5-Year Plan has already been formulated and is in effect in our republic. The implementation of this program will make it possible to transfer 32,000 people to mechanized labor and will nationally release more than 100,000 people in the republic's national economy.

Thanks to the introduction of measures to mechanize and automate production processes and of progressive techniques, labor productivity in industry will increase by 10-12 percent in 1981-85.

This program must be implemented without fail.

The optimum and most profitable way of further increasing industrial production and improving quality and efficiency is to assimilate fundamentally new, modern types of industrial output and introduce progressive techniques, the mechanization and automation of production processes, computer equipment and automated control systems.

The improvement of techniques on existing equipment and in existing production facilities must be one of the main trends in the development of industry and all sectors of the national economy and a main task of our engineers, designers and scientists in the eighties.

Proposals must be formulated for efficient new techniques of making rational use of manganese, arsenic, lead, copper and polymetallic, and barium ores, bentonites, natural zeolites, diatomite, oil and other mineral resources.

The technical standard of production in machine building and metalworking and the food and light industries must be improved and measures must be taken to retool enterprises in the coal, mining, metallurgical and chemical industries.

THE EIGHTIES WILL BE YEARS OF A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN THE STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE MANUAL LABOR, YEARS OF THE INTRODUCTION INTO PRODUCTION OF THE MOST ADVANCED EQUIPMENT AND TECHNIQUES, YEARS OF INTENSIVE PRODUCTION MECHANIZATION AND AUTOMATION.

A considerable amount of work was done in the 10th 5-Year Plan to increase the republic's power industry potential. Thanks to the commissioning of the Inguri GES and the three Vartsikhskiy cascade hydroelectric power stations and to the expansion of the Tkvarcheli GRES the total capacity of Georgia's power stations showed an increase of 60 percent compared with 1975, reaching the level of 4 million kilowatts. Electricity generation over the course of the 10th 5-Year Plan showed an increase of 20 percent and last year totaled more than 14 billion kilowatt-hours. Thus the Inguri GES accounts for the bulk of the increase in power industry capacity.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF ALL FIVE UNITS OF THE INGURI GES, WHICH HAS NO COUNTERPART ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, WAS ONE OF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATION'S MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE SEVENTIES.

At the same time the rate of development of the republic's power industry is still lagging behind the rate of development of the national economy and is not satisfying the population's ever-increasing demands. In terms of per capita electricity generation and consumption the republic holds 9th and 10th places, respectively, in the country. We are lagging behind in terms of the power-worker and electricity-worker ratios in industry and agriculture.

The republic's national economy constantly experiences a shortage of base capacity during wintertime.

The problem of eliminating the shortage of base generating capacity in the Georgian power system can be solved only by constructing in the republic a powerful base power station which, combined with the continued efficient use of the rich hydroelectric resources, would make it possible to create the optimum structure of power industry capacities.

At the same time the efforts of our scientists and engineers in the direction of the practical exploitation of such types of energy as solar energy, wind energy, energy from thermal waters, and others must be intensified as much as possible.

DURING THE 10TH 5-YEAR PLAN THE REPUBLIC TOOK A MAJOR STEP FORWARD IN DEVELOPING THE OIL INDUSTRY. In effect, the sector was created in the seventies.

November 1980 saw the commissioning of the Samgori-Batumi oil pipeline, which transports all the oil extracted in the republic and loads two-thirds of the capacity of the Batumi oil refinery, whose output, by decision of union organs at our request, will be used mostly to satisfy the national economic needs of the republic.

THE REPUBLIC'S OIL INDUSTRY IS FACED WITH THE TASK OF SUPPLYING THE REPUBLIC'S NEEDS FOR PETROLEUM PRODUCTS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE FROM ITS OWN RESOURCES. It is from that standpoint that we must determine the prospects for the oil industry's development in the eighties.

The question of reliable gas supplies for the republic will be resolved during the 11th 5-Year Plan. You are well aware that the restricted gas flow [podacha] is creating a serious situation in gas supplies to the Transcaucasus and the Georgian SSR in particular. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have taken measures aimed at improving our republic's gas supplies.

By the end of the 11th 5-Year Plan these measures will make it possible to increase gas supplies from 3 billion cubic meters per year to 8-9 billion cubic meters, and to 13-15 billion cubic meters in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The coal industry is faced with serious problems, an undesirable trend toward reduced coal extraction has emerged recently. Along with objective factors here, there are also subjective factors connected with the sluggishness of the sector's leaders. What other possible explanation is there for the fact that, for all the existence of considerable reserves at the Tkibuli-Shaorskoye deposit, notwithstanding the present tight fuel and energy balance, only 30 percent of reserves have been brought into industrial exploitation. In order to increase extraction a decision must be obtained from union organs as soon as possible on the question of constructing a major new mine with a capacity of 1.5 million tons to work the aforementioned deposit.

The new techniques developed by the republic's metallurgists and coal industry workers for utilizing high-ash low-grade thermally treated coals in the production of ferroalloys must be regarded as an important step in the national utilization of Georgian coal. The replacement of coke fines, which is in short supply, by thermally treated coal will produce a big saving.

In short, the questions of further developing the republic's coal industry in the 11th 5-Year Plan require special concern from the party organization.

In the republic's industry during the 10th 5-Year Plan a number of sectors of exceptionally great importance for accelerating scientific and technical progress and also for resolving major socioeconomic tasks in the national economy developed at increasing preferential rates. Take machine building, for instance. That sector's share of the republic's industrial production totaled 12 percent in 1980, as against 10 percent in 1975.

The activity of electronics industry enterprises deserves commendation.

The electronics industry finished the 10th 5-Year Plan showing a considerable increase in production. A still greater increase in production is planned for the 11th 5-Year Plan.

At the same time certain machine-building subsectors failed to achieve the level outlined by the 5-year plan because of unsatisfactory work. Enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and certain other union ministries allowed the 5-year-plan targets to be considerably underfulfilled.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan and the eighties machine builders are faced with extremely crucial tasks both in improving the level of production and increasing capacities at existing enterprises and in constructing new plants, primarily the Marneuli heavy machine tool-building plant to produce heavy and custom-built metal-cutting machine tools. This will not just be a plant but a whole industrial complex, a whole industrial city. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUCH A GIANT MACHINE TOOL-BUILDING PLANT IS A MATTER OF HONOR AND GLORY FOR THE REPUBLIC'S COMMUNIST PARTY, GEORGIA'S WORKING PEOPLE, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE KOMSOMOL MEMBERS OF THE EIGHTIES.

The construction of a plant to produce cableway equipment in Akhalkalaki, a ball bearing plant in Khashuri and many others have also been started in the current 5-year plan. The expansion and modernization of the Kutaisi plants--the motor vehicle plant and the small tractor plant--the Tbilisi electric locomotive plant and so forth are of tremendous importance to us.

Ferrous metallurgy occupies an important place in the republic's economy. Suffice it to say that this sector accounts for more than 10 percent of the value of fixed industrial production capital. Much was done in the seventies to develop ferrous metallurgy. We must ensure the further development of this sector.

It should be noted at this point that the Rustavi metallurgical plant has found the potential for increasing production of large-diameter pipe skelps [zagotovki].

Calculations have shown that the implementation of a certain measure will make it possible to obtain up to an extra 1 million tons of pipe skelps per year and to save a considerable amount of metal.

The prospect for further developing the Rustavi metallurgical plant must be determined right now, taking into account the trend toward the development of efficient industrial processes in domestic and foreign metallurgy. And this must be done just as persistently and energetically as it was at the Zestafoni ferroalloys plant, which is carrying out tremendous work to modernize equipment, to restore and construct purifying units and installations and to construct new capacities. In virtually 18-24 months the Zestafoni ferroalloys plant will have been completely renovated and will have become an enterprise equipped with the most modern hardware.

In essence we must obtain waste-free production. We are being greatly assisted in this by Comrade I.P. Kazanets, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, Comrade G.A. Karavayev, USSR minister of construction, and other comrades.

WE HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPING POWDER METALLURGY. It is enough to mention the autoclave equipment for comprehensively processing copper concentrate from the Madneulskaye deposit and low-grade manganese ores from Chiatura (which is especially important), producing copper powder and electrolytic manganese dioxide, which is in short supply; there is no doubt that the equipment is profitable and progressive.

The question of the rational utilization of the reserves of the Chiatura manganese deposit is of great social and economic significance. However, the republic's metallurgists and scientists are being slow to resolve the task of utilizing low-grade manganese ores in the production of ferroalloys, though it is on the timely resolution of this task that the further development of the Chiatura-Zestafoni industrial center largely depends.

NONFERROUS METALLURGY UNDERWENT DEFINITE DEVELOPMENT IN THE REPUBLIC DURING THE SEVENTIES.

Throughout the 10th 5-Year Plan the Georgian CP Central Committee constantly monitored the making of a young enterprise in the republic's nonferrous metallurgy--the Madneulskiy mining and enriching combine, whose commissioning considerably increased the significance of the nonferrous metallurgy sector in the republic's industry. But at the same time there were slumps, miscalculations and errors in the combine's work. As a result of the purposeful, painstaking combined work of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, republic organs and the combine, we are entitled to say today that the consequences of the errors that were made have been eliminated. We must continue to pay unremitting attention to the enterprises of this sector, which is important to the republic.

The seventies were years of rebirth for the republic's large-scale chemical industry. Nonetheless, we cannot be satisfied with the chemical industry's rate of development. Although major capacities for the production of ammonia, dilute nitric acid, ammonium nitrate and electrolytic manganese dioxide were commissioned at the Rustavi chemical plant during the 10th 5-Year Plan, overall the rate of increase in industrial output at the sector's enterprise is below the indicators planned for the 5-year plan.

From the viewpoint of increasing the production of output needed by the national economy and the population, the chemical industry must be regarded as one of the most promising sectors in the republic's industrial complex.

It must be noted here that the collectives of the Rustavi chemical plant and the Georgian SSR Institute of Inorganic Chemistry and Electrochemistry, in conjunction with the country's industrial planning institutes, have carried out a considerable amount of work to ORGANIZE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF ELECTROLYTIC MANGANESE DIOXIDE. To give an idea of the national economic importance of electrolytic manganese dioxide, I would say that when Georgia's capacities are started up, our whole country will outstrip--in terms of the current level of electrolytic manganese dioxide production--countries such as the United States, Japan and the FRG, which still have a practical monopoly on exports of the product.

The party constantly teaches us that one of our main reserves lies in the thrifty, rational use of everything we have at our disposal, everything our national economy produces. We must at last learn to keep accurate count and make efficient use of every ruble, every hour of work, every ton of raw material. The materials-intensiveness of output must be reduced.

Social production in our republic is characterized by high materials-intensiveness: Materials expenditure totals more than 55 percent of the social product. The materials-intensiveness indicator is particularly high in industry, where it reaches almost 70 percent. Each percentage point saving in materials expenditure in the republic's industry means more than R51 million per year.

We must seek low-waste and waste-free production in all sectors of the economy. This is an enormous, but unfortunately as yet very much underused reserve for our economy's growth.

A large-scale specialized association has already been created in the republic. The Georgian SSR Gosstob's Gruzvtorsyuz Trust has been transformed into the Gruzglavvtorresursy main administration for procurements, deliveries and the utilization of secondary material resources within the Gosstob system. Gruzglavvtorresursy has been given control of the recording and uncovering of new types of production waste, secondary resources and byproducts and their rational utilization in the republic's national economy, and of the coordination of the activity of ministries, organizations and enterprises in this direction.

THE UTILIZATION OF WASTE PRODUCTS IN THE REPUBLIC'S NATIONAL ECONOMY MUST BE PERFORMED ON A LARGE SCALE, PURPOSEFULLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY, SINCE IN THE EIGHTIES WE MUST ACHIEVE A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN THIS DIRECTION.

A broad program for commissioning new industrial enterprises and expanding existing ones is planned for 1981-90. In the planning period as a whole the construction of up to 200 new industrial enterprises and the modernization of over 100 are envisaged. In the 11th 5-Year Plan and the period through 1990 it is planned to construct 18 plants in the machine-building and metalworking sectors and 6 light industry factories, which, once their capacities have started, will employ up to 70,000 people.

It must be admitted that so-called "anti-industrial sentiments" exist in some places in the republic. We have mentioned this a number of times.

Industry's relatively small share in social production, particularly in terms of the manpower employed in the sector, is one of the main reasons for the republic's relative lag behind the average union level in terms of the generalizing indicators of overall economic development. That is why we attach special significance to the question of the full use of available manpower, particularly in mountainous and foothill regions and the small cities and settlements, by creating subsidiaries of industrial production facilities in them.

The experience of the machine plant whose director is Comrade T.M. Nioradze merits approval. Here they have approached this question from the state's viewpoint and, with minimal expenditure, have created subsidiaries in four of the republic's rayons by modernizing vacated public buildings for this purpose. By the end of the 10th 5-Year Plan the subsidiaries had produced about 30 percent of the total volume of the enterprises's gross output.

The initiative in establishing subsidiaries taken by enterprises of the Mion Scientific Research Institute, the Tbilisi aircraft plant, the Gruzelektromash and Elektrovozostroitel Production Associations and others has met with our full support and approval.

Over the 11th 5-Year Plan as a whole it is intended to expand sharply the subsidiaries of existing production facilities, for which a large proportion of the able-bodied population will be recruited.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRARIAN REGIONS INTO AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL ONES IS A PROCESS WHICH WAS BEGUN INTENSIVELY IN THE SEVENTIES AND WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE EIGHTIES AND THE NINETIES.

We have tremendous reserves of manpower concentrated in agriculture. The proportion of rural inhabitants in the republic's population is 48 percent while for the country as a whole it is 37 percent.

As a result of recent measures the creation and production of equipment for agriculture is being established on a reliable footing. Manual labor is increasingly being eliminated from the daily work of rural workers. The further development of agricultural machine building in the republic will help to release manpower from the agricultural sphere.

Work is underway on the modernization of the Tbilisi Gruzselmash plant. Our scientists and designers are completing the modification of the mobile Sakartvelo tea-harvesting machine.

The monorail transportation so essential for mechanizing manual labor during the transportation of loads on mountain plantations has been tested and submitted for series production.

Moreover, at the end of last year the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on organizing the manufacture of motorized units [motobloki], small tractors and implements for them at the imeni Konstitutsii SSR Kutaisi Small Tractors Plant Production Association.

As you can see, comrades, agricultural machine building is developing rapidly in our republic.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan it is planned to increase the production of all industrial output in the republic by 30-33 percent. Over the same period it is planned to increase industrial production output for the union as a whole by 26-28 percent. This correlation of industrial development rates accords with the tasks of gradually overcoming the republic's relative lag behind the average union level in terms of industrial development.

We must resolve this very important task in the 11th 5-Year Plan on the basis of the rapid and steady buildup of the production of means of production and of high-quality and varied consumer goods which accord with the highest demands of scientific and technical progress, and by making fuller use of the potential for the retooling and intensification of the production base and by improving the sectorial structure with consideration for ensuring the preferential development of progressive industrial sectors.

3. The Unconditional Fulfillment of the Program for Consumer Goods Production and of the Food Program is an Urgent Task for the Georgian Party Organization

Comrades!

In the 11th 5-Year Plan two very important comprehensive and strategic programs must be implemented: the program for the development of consumer goods production and the food program, both formulated on the initiative of and personal instructions from Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

We have discussed these programs in detail at central committee plenums and bureau sessions. We believe it is essential to stress at the congress too the special importance of their formulation and strict fulfillment.

The 10th 5-Year Plan laid a firm foundation for resolving these programs. The material and technical base of light industry has been substantially strengthened. Major enterprises like the Gldani sewn and knitted articles factory and the Kutsisi knitwear factory and the Akhaltsikhe subsidiary of the Gori Cotton Production Association were commissioned.

The Tbilisi worsted cloth combine and a number of other enterprises were modernized. Measures for the retooling of the sector were implemented. At light industry enterprises special attention was paid to improving output quality and to the expansion and renewal of its range. Suffice it to say that in late 1980 the proportion of output with the seal of quality reached 21 percent.

The central committee and the republic's government, the union ministry and Minister N.N. Tarasov have paid daily attention to the work of Georgia's light industry enterprises.

However, the populations' demand for many goods is by no means being fully satisfied. Life is becoming better, and what satisfied us yesterday will not do today. Every person needs not simply shoes, a dress or a coat, but modern, fashionable, attractive items.

Unfortunately, some of our leaders are reluctant to understand this, as a result of which many goods lie around for a long time.

I think the leaders of this sector and primarily the minister, Comrade Gamtsemlidze, must pay special attention to consolidating the successes achieved, overcoming the shortcomings and developing and producing high-quality, fashionable, modern consumer goods which meet people's growing demands.

Laggard sectors producing cotton articles require close attention from the very first days of the new 5-year plan. The ministry leadership must focus all efforts and resources to rectify the situation at the Gori cotton combine. We must achieve the fulfillment of our pledge and commission ahead of schedule the sewn and knitted articles factory in Tskhinvali and launch work to accelerate the construction of the Tbilisi Silk Association and the Sachkhere cotton spinning factory.

Positive trends have emerged in the work of the woodworking and furniture industry. However, they too are failing to satisfy the demand for consumer goods.

Things are not going well in the production of cultural and consumer goods and domestic appliances at local industry enterprises and heavy industry enterprises of union jurisdiction, particularly the machine-building enterprises. They have great potential capabilities.

The leaders of enterprises of union and republic jurisdiction must radically alter their attitude toward this important social issue and achieve a sharp improvement in the state of affairs in the production of these commodities, many types of which must be produced on the basis of local raw material resources and industrial waste.

If we look more deeply, there are considerable reserves and opportunities to be found in the woodworking industry, forestry, the Tsekavshir and on the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. However, many local party and soviet leaders overlook opportunities for organizing the production of goods in daily demand, and unsatisfactory use is still being made of the labor of homeworkers, pensioners and invalids in producing souvenirs and traditional national articles and in folk craft industries.

The interests of the matter require that urgent steps be taken to improve the standard of planning of consumer goods production by the republic's Gosplan (Comrade D.L. Kartvelishvili) and the coordination of enterprises' activity in accordance with the population's demand and the market situation.

In brief, we need a well-conceived long-term program which will be able to pool the efforts of the relevant sectors. Its formulation and the organization of its implementation are an urgent task for the republican commission on consumer goods. If its chairman, Central Committee Bureau member Comrade N.A. Chitanava, had guided the commission's work as well as he is managing other affairs, then he would not have felt so uncomfortable at the exhibition of consumer goods in increased demand which, incidentally, showed that we can increase the production of these goods at least several times over.

One of the most important tasks of the Georgian party organization in the new 5-year plan is the formulation and implementation of the food program.

Alongside an increase in the production of agricultural products, great significance in resolving this program is attached to the development of the food, meat and dairy and fish industry sectors.

In the 10th 5-Year Plan we paid special attention to the development of these sectors. With the aid of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Gosplan--and incidentally we are being helped a great deal by our congress' guest, Gosplan First Deputy Chairman Comrade N.A. Paskar--and with the aid of the USSR Gosstat and the Ministry of Food Industry we have considerably increased processing industry capacities by constructing enterprises of the meat and dairy, baking, canning, winemaking, tea and other sectors of the food industry and modernizing existing enterprises. This has made it possible to create relatively normal conditions for the uninterrupted processing of raw material and the population's provision with foodstuffs and to ensure rapid production growth. In 1980 the Samtrest's industrial output had increased 70 percent compared with 1975, while the production of black tea had increased 48 percent and the production of canned goods 70 percent.

At the same time we have been unable to fulfill the projected 5-year program for the meat and dairy industry because of the shortage of raw material resources.

The fishing industry completed the 5-year plan with low indicators. Here the serious failings which have occurred in this sector in the past undoubtedly had an effect. The former leaders of the Gruzrybprom and the Poti ocean-fishing administration brought the republic's fishing industry to the point of collapse, for which they have been severely punished. Kartoziya, the director of the Poti ocean-fishing administration, who was involved in criminal machinations, was, together with several leaders of Azcherryba, expelled from the party and charged with criminal offenses. The new Gruzrybprom leadership (chief, Comrade O.G. Abesadze) is rebuilding itself only slowly, although we are experiencing a large amount of aid and support from the union ministry and its minister Comrade V.M. Kamentsev, personally in developing the sector's material and technical base and replenishing the fishing fleet.

It is time to put an end to the disdainful attitude toward development of fishing in inland waters.

For the full satisfaction of the population's food requirements it is necessary to have a well-conceived and scientifically substantiated program for the development of the entire agroindustrial complex.

Because of the shortage of capacities in the food industry sectors a considerable quantity of agricultural products is spoiled so the consumer fails to obtain output in short supply, while the sector incurs losses. This disproportion must be overcome at all costs.

The November Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum noted the need to improve the quality of tea. A comprehensive program has been formulated. Our scientists, designers and production workers have already resolved many important technical and technological problems. Highly effective technology and equipment have been created for the mechanized continuous processing of machine-harvested tea. Methods have been found for making rational use of the raw material, and the first enterprises for the production of liquid and dry tea concentrates and tea dyes. Work has been launched on the extensive use of tea concentrates in various sectors of the food industry.

A SHARP IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF GEORGIAN TEA IS ONE OF THE MAIN TASKS OF THE REPUBLIC PARTY ORGANIZATION FOR THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN. THIS IS A QUESTION OF THE REPUBLIC'S AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE.

We have similar programs for the development of the winemaking, canning, soft drink and mineral water industries, which are components of the food program.

Everyone knows that our natural conditions and level of industrial development make it possible to produce unique strains of grapes, fruit, vegetables and tea and to increase exports of our branded wines, cognacs and canned fruits which in terms of palatability considerably surpass the output of many countries of the world and enjoy great popularity abroad. The export of food products produced in the republic in the 10th 5-Year Plan increased 40 percent compared with the previous 5-year plan. The leaders of the relevant associations (Comrades G.I. Loladze, D.G. Kekenadze and E.S. Malazoniya) must think seriously about this problem and take steps to increase exports of these types of output.

To heed the work to formulate and implement a republic food program for the 11th 5-Year Plan and the period through 1990 a special commission headed by the Central Committee first secretary has been created by a special decision of the Georgian CP Central Committee. I want to report to the congress that the commission, the working group and all the ministries, departments, institutions and organizations involved in them have started work in earnest.

The commission has deemed it necessary to embark first on the elaboration of a number of issues whose practical implementation brooks no delay. These are mainly measures in the agricultural sphere requiring preliminary preparation before the advent of the spring season's agricultural work. Some of these issues have in fact already been resolved.

The food program embraces a vast range of problems of varying complexity and labor-intensiveness.

However, the interests of the matter require that this program be accomplished as rapidly and reliably as possible for the full programmed range of questions and for all regions of the republic. Therefore, alongside the well-known means for intensification of the economy we must make extensive use of the new incentive levers stimulating the desire of farms and rayons to fulfill the projected plans and programs more rapidly.

Having a good, realistic food program means choosing the goal correctly and justifying it as deeply as possible, in a truly scientific manner, calculating the time, funds and efforts needed for its fulfillment and being confident of the high effectiveness of the end results of its implementation.

Taking into account the tremendous state and political importance of the population's uninterrupted food supply, we demand that the obkom, gorkom and raykom first secretaries monitor and answer for the progress of the formulation and practical implementation of the comprehensive food programs.

The main avenues for the development of the food industry sectors in the eighties in our republic were defined by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Increase the Production of Southern and Subtropical Crops and Further Accelerate the Development of Agriculture in the Georgian SSR," and their implementation is our vital party concern.

I want to report to the congress delegates that in the 11th 5-Year Plan the large scales of the buildup of production volumes in Groups A and B will be accompanied by progressive shifts in the economy's structure, which will be reflected in the further strengthening of the industrial sectors' role in the national economy. Thus, the draft "Basic Guidelines" for the period through 1990 provide for an 80-percent increase in the volume of net industrial output, a 70-percent increase in net agricultural output.

4 Improving Work To Implement the Party's Agrarian Policy, and Increasing the Contribution of the Republic's Agriculture to the Development of the National Economy on the Basis of the Further Intensification, Specialisation and Concentration of Production

Comrades!

The seventies saw great transformations in Georgian agriculture. In implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum, and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions, the republic's party organization systematically pursued in the period under review measures for the further development of all its sectors and its transformation into a highly developed sector of the economy. The congress' directive instructions on strengthening agriculture's material and technical base and focusing attention on the main factors of the intensification of agricultural production--mechanization, chemicalization and reclamation--have been successfully implemented.

During the 10th 5-Year Plan R1.6 billion in capital investments were allocated for our agricultural development, which is 6 percent more than the Ninth 5-Year Plan figure. Over the same period agriculture received almost 16,000 tractors, 1,000 combines and 12,000 trucks; highly intensive agricultural lands increased by over 83,000 hectares of irrigated and drained land, and so forth.

Over the 5-year plan the level of mechanization in plant growing increased 12 percent and that in stockraising 16 percent.

In the seventies manual tea-harvesting apparatuses were created and introduced on a massive scale, the industrial production of vegetatively propagated seedlings of the Kolkhid tea strain was organized and industrial plantations of this excellent strain of domestically produced tea were established.

We regard the breeding and introduction into production of the first high-yield hybrid corn strains, which have emerged in the past 2-3 years, as a great achievement by scientists in the seventies.

The introduction into production of the Rtveli automated control system in the Kakheti rayons can be regarded as the start of a new stage in the automated control of agricultural processes.

In the next few years this system will be used both in viticulture as a whole and in other sectors of agricultural production.

The well-known 28 May 1976 CPSU Central Committee resolution on questions of agricultural specialization and concentration directly emphasized that agriculture's multisectorial nature and the poor concentration of production are holding up the industrialization of arable farming and stockraising, reducing the effectiveness of expenditure and essentially retarding economic and, consequently, also scientific and technical progress in this sector. This resolution's implementation will make it possible to increase the degree of socialization of kolkhoz production, improve social relationships and bring the two forms of ownership closer together.

We carried out very long and painstaking preparation for the Ninth Georgian CP Central Committee (1978) Plenum, which discussed the problems of agriculture in the light of this CPSU Central Committee resolution. This was no accident, for we attached special significance to this plenum, as we did to the 18th plenum (1975) on questions of the further development of stockraising, in the development of the republic's agricultural production. We believe that both these Central Committee plenums have played and will continue to play a special part in the life of our party organization.

I want to speak in a little more detail about the special role of the Ninth (1978) plenum. At the ninth plenum the Georgian CP Central Committee, proceeding from the 25th CPSU Congress directive instructions and the above-mentioned CPSU Central Committee resolution, defined ways and forms for the further specialization of the republic's agricultural production.

Taking into account our specific conditions, the plenum scientifically substantiated the experiments which are being conducted in our regions to improve organizational forms of the management of the sectors belonging to the republic's agroindustrial complex.

The delegates know that THE ABASHSKOYE PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION FOR AGRICULTURE, A REPUBLIC AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL-TRADE ASSOCIATION AND A NEW SYSTEM FOR THE PROCUREMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS WERE CREATED in the republic as an experiment. At the ninth plenum we endeavored to justify the need for their development.

Life has shown that the line steered by the Georgian CP Central Committee in improving the organizational forms of agricultural management was correct. The experience of Abashaskiy Rayon which, in turn, reflected the practice and achievements of the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Baltic republics, Stavropolye Kray and others, has been successfully introduced in 14 rayons, and in the 11th 5-Year Plan will be introduced throughout the republic. The structural changes in agricultural management have enabled the Abashskiy Raykom to improve considerably the structure of the rayon's party organizations as well. The entire country has evinced interest in the Abashskiy Rayon experience. This question has been heard twice at the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture Department and at a session of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences Presidium and the USSR Academy of Sciences has also shown interest.

If Central Committee Bureau member and Secretary Comrade D.I. Patiashvili had been displaying the same persistence in introducing the Abashskiy Rayon experience throughout the republic as he is displaying in resolving other questions of agrarian policy, this valuable experience would long since have become the possession of all regions.

I think all this is graphic confirmation of the correctness of the line we are pursuing in the sphere of agrarian policy.

The new form of agricultural management, by making it possible to combine the interests of the different sectors belonging to the agroindustrial complex, promotes the emergence of new initiatives with, I would say, statewide, nationwide significance. Thus in Makharadzevskiy and Zugdidskiy Rayons was born the initiative for the construction of microfactories for processing leaf tea, while in Makharadzevskiy Rayon there emerged the initiative to utilize tea industry waste products and to create a system for the comprehensive control of tea quality. Thus emerged the initiative of the viticulturalists and wine industry workers of Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon for improving the quality of grapes and increasing the production of high-quality Georgian branded and ordinary wines, and so forth.

After the entry into force of the new CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on questions of improving planning and economic incentives in the countryside and of the party and government resolution on questions of increasing the production of fruit and vegetable output and improving its procurement, processing and sale, on the basis of which latter many specialized sovkhozes will transfer to the control of the NEW MINISTRY OF FRUIT AND VEGETABLE FARMING created in our republic, the role and responsibility of rayon production associations for the administration of agriculture will increase still further.

Of course, we do not intend to relieve them of their responsibility for procuring agricultural products.

The republic's party and Soviet organs have done much to deepen the specialization and expansion of the concentration of agroindustrial integration.

A considerable contribution to the attainment of successes in agriculture has been made by the Georgian CP Central Committee commission for the operational solution of agricultural questions, which for a number of years has been resolving promptly, on a democratic basis, many questions arising during actual agricultural work.

Definite experience has also been accumulated in the leadership of the individual agricultural sectors by staffing them with Central Committee members and other leading workers.

In the past 5-year plan the republic's agriculture produced gross output worth a total of R9.9 billion, which is R2.5 billion more than in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. Valuable agricultural products worth over R0.5 million were sold to the state over and above the 5-year plan. The average annual volume of gross agricultural output increased 34 percent compared with the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

Higher peaks were scaled in increasing the output of agricultural products in the public sector, where growth rates were almost 45 percent.

IT IS PRECISELY THE ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUTPUT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS ON THE SOCIALIZED FARMS WHICH HAS BEEN THE DETERMINING TREND OF THE REPUBLIC'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW AND IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE MAINTAINED IN THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN AND THE SUBSEQUENT PERIOD.

In the past 5-year plan labor productivity in agriculture rose 40 percent. Compared with the Ninth 5-Year Plan the average annual grape yield rose 43 percent, the green leaf tea yield rose 44 percent, the citrus fruit yield 100 percent, the vegetable yield 32 percent, the potato yield 35 percent and the fruit yield 16 percent, average annual meat production rose 16 percent, milk production over 16 percent, egg production 26 percent and wool production 8 percent.

The 5-year-plan targets for procurements were overfulfilled, and 876,000 tons of grain, 2,155,000 tons of high-quality leaf tea, 2.65 million tons of grapes, 2.8 million tons of citrus and other fruit, 740,000 tons of potatoes, 1,491,000 tons of vegetables and 9,160 tons of silk cocoons were sold to the state. The purchase of meat, milk and eggs was respectively 136, 131 and 168 percent compared with the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The rural workers are coping regularly with crucial targets for deliveries of agricultural products to the all-union food reserve.

Definite successes have been achieved in increasing the economic efficiency of agricultural production, reducing the prime cost of several agricultural products, reducing the number of loss-making farms, increasing profitability and in the payment of the labor of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers and so forth.

AN INCREASE IN THE RETURN ON INVESTMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE PAST 20 YEARS.

Over the years of the 10th 5-Year Plan as a whole Georgia's agriculture developed via the preferential growth of the output of produce of the determining crops and primarily the perennial plantings: tea, citrus fruit, grapes and fruits. We have largely succeeded in putting these sectors on a firm economic footing and controlling the processes taking place here.

At the same time the Central Committee has also paid great attention to those agricultural sectors designed to play a decisive part in improving the supply to the republic's population of foodstuffs, and primarily livestock, vegetable, potato and other products.

The course of subsequent events has confirmed the correctness of the position of the republic's party organization, which at its 18th Central Committee plenum (1975) adopted fundamental decisions on the development of livestock raising in the republic. It may frankly be said that, had it not been for the decisions of the 18th Central Committee plenum, the republic would have experienced even graver difficulties in supplying the population with livestock products. It is indicative that following the plenum the republic's population received an additional 120,000 tons of meat and the same quantity of milk and also 240 million eggs.

The plenums' fundamental decisions have created a constructive atmosphere for seeking new ways of increasing the output of livestock products and their sale to the state. THE FORM OF ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS KNOWN AS COOPERATION BETWEEN PUBLIC FARMS AND SUBSIDIARY PLOTS HAS PROVED A RELIABLE ALLY IN THIS MATTER and is being skillfully used by the Abashskiy, Makharadzevskiy, Samtredskiy, Gardabanskiy and Terzholskiy rayons, the republic Gruzptitseprom Association and several other organizations. The experience they have accumulated proves the great promise of this trend.

In the eighties we must display special concern for the forms of the correct combination of the interests of social production and the population's personal subsidiary plots. As of 1 January 1973 some 142,000 families living in the countryside, or 27 percent of the total, had no livestock, while 232,000 families, or 44 percent, had no cows, and this enormous army, from being producers of livestock products, became consumers.

In fulfilling the frequent personal instructions from L.I. Brezhnev the Georgian CP Central Committee has been implementing practical measures in recent years to improve conditions for the pursuit of personal-plot farming, thanks to which the first results have already been achieved--there has emerged A STEADY TREND TOWARD AN INCREASE IN THE LIVESTOCK POPULATION ON PERSONAL SUBSIDIARY FARMS AND A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF RURAL INHABITANTS POSSESSING NO LIVESTOCK. The new system for procuring agricultural products has played an immeasurably large part in this by making it possible to introduce elements of a planned approach to personal-plot farming--that is, to bring its methods and the methods of socialist economic management closer together.

Cooperation between socialized farms and the population on the basis of contracts has long been practiced. In recent years this practice has been improved. In the seventies, despite a considerable reduction in the proportion of personal plots in the overall production and procurement of agricultural products, AN ABSOLUTE INCREASE OF ALMOST 60 PERCENT WAS ACHIEVED FOR THESE PRODUCTS, while their sale to the state almost doubled. Over the past 5-year plan the state purchased 1 million tons of grapes, 1.9 million tons of citrus and other fruit, 280,000 tons of meat and other products from the population at firm procurement prices.

However, reserves for increasing the output of agricultural and particularly livestock, products from subsidiary plots do exist in almost all rayons. The task of our party, soviet and agricultural organs is to find the best ways of using these opportunities--ways most acceptable to a given region. To this end we have studied the experience of the union republics and Hungary, and its utilization should help us a very great deal.

The Georgian CP Central Committee, while not of course excluding other forms, basically recommends two fundamental forms of cooperation with the population in stockraising, the first is when the population feeds, on a contract basis, the young animals belonging to them and sells them to the state; the second is when the socialized farms distribute young animals and mixed feed to the population and pay them wages for fattening the livestock and rent for the premises used. I think it will be correct to assign the Gosplan and the Ministry of Agriculture in the very near future the task of FORMULATING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR SHARPLY AND RAPIDLY EXPANDING REPRODUCTION FARMS IN THE REPUBLIC.

The possibility of increasing the output of agricultural products by means of a well-organized system of COLLECTIVE HORTICULTURE AND TRUCK GARDENING and also via THE SUBSIDIARY FARMS OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES, CONSTRUCTION, TRANSPORT AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS seems quite promising.

I spoke in detail of these problems at the Tbilisi party conference, and the delegates unanimously endorsed the Central Committee's opinions. I think the delegates of our congress too are not indifferent toward them. For every person, love for the land is probably an innate feeling and it must be developed, not artificially curbed.

I personally see nothing bad in a family living in the city and having a small plot in a collective horticultural establishment and, by spending part of their leisure time there, creating an additional quantity of agricultural products. Or what is wrong with a person with a house in a village locality, while himself worthily representing the honor of this village in the city, possessing a plot of land around his house not in excess of the set norm? Just one thing must not be forgotten, and that is--THE AUXILIARY NATURE of the subsidiary plots and of collective truck gardening and horticulture, in the running of which any compromise with manifestations of private-ownership aspirations must be excluded.

Our large scale industrial enterprises, and indeed other organizations, can do a lot of good if, by creating subsidiary farms, they develop derelict villages.

Comrades! The achievements in the development of agriculture attest that WE HAVE BASICALLY SUCCEEDED IN PREPARING IT TO SCALE NEW heights and to resolve an important economic task: on the basis OF AN ALL-ROUND IMPROVEMENT IN PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY AND WORK QUALITY, RAISING THE REPUBLIC'S AGRICULTURE IN TERMS OF THE BASIC ECONOMIC INDICATORS TO THE LEVEL OF THE BEST INDICATORS OF THE OTHER UNION REPUBLICS.

This is very important, since the new 5-year plan will be particularly complex and difficult for our agriculture by virtue of several new circumstances. First, in the 11th 5-Year Plan the sectors of the agroindustrial complex will function in a new way--in accordance with a unified, balanced, interlinked plan. Second, agriculture will for the first time have to develop under the conditions of approved all-union and republic food programs. Third, a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers has altered the planning system of agriculture itself. Fourth, the republic must ensure the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Increase the Production of Southern and Subtropical Crops and Further Accelerate the Development of Agriculture in the Georgian SSR." Fifth, the draft "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period through 1990" sets the Georgian SSR's agriculture new large-scale tasks whose solution is very honorable but at the same time complex.

The country's planned average annual gross output growth rate in the 11th 5-Year Plan is 12-14 percent, while for the Georgian SSR it is 22-24 percent, which is perhaps the highest indicator in the country.

This is a complex task, all the more so since, as is well known IN TERMS OF GROSS OUTPUT GROWTH RATES OUR REPUBLIC TOOK SECOND PLACE IN THE 10TH 5-YEAR PLAN.

According to the draft 11th 5-Year Plan, in agriculture the average annual production of agricultural output on all categories of farms in 1973 comparable prices is projected at R2.46 billion, or R450 million more than in the 10th 5-Year Plan. Gross agricultural output per worker (in the socialized sector) will reach almost R3,000, an increase of R822 over the 10th 5-Year Plan.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan particularly big tasks face the sectors which determine the production specialization of the republic's agriculture. Thus it is planned to increase production and procurements of high-quality leaf tea by the end of 1985 to 550,000 tons, those of grapes to 1.2 million tons, of citrus and other fruit to 1.15 million tons, of potatoes to 500,000 tons, of vegetables to 750,000 tons, of meat to 270,000 tons, of milk to 750,000 tons, of eggs to 1 billion and so forth.

Procurements of almost all agricultural produce will increase still more rapidly. Thus, grape procurements will have increased 54 percent in 1985 compared with the 1980 plan, while vegetable procurements will have increased 41 percent, fruit procurements 30 percent, citrus fruit procurements 84 percent, meat procurements 27 percent and so forth. And that is still not all. The point is that even these targets are not enough to balance the republic's food program.

That is why the Georgian CP Central Committee, at its 22d plenum last November, drew attention to three basic problems which must be considered when examining the question of the development of the sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex: THE FIRST IS TO SEEK OUT RESERVES FOR ENSURING THE UNCONDITIONAL GROWTH OF THE OUTPUT AND PROCUREMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE RECORD YEAR OF 1980. THE SECOND IS TO ENSURE THE PRIORITY MAXIMUM DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC'S AGRICULTURAL SECTORS WHICH ARE OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE ALL-UNION FOOD PROGRAM. THE THIRD IS TO ENSURE, WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO THE SECTORS OF ALL-UNION SIGNIFICANCE, THE ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTORS VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE REPUBLIC FOOD PROGRAM.

The most complex tasks must be resolved in the sphere of the development of the sectors on which the fate of the republic food program's implementation depends. Of these the least complex is that of increasing the production of vegetables, potatoes and pulse crops. Thus the draft envisages increasing vegetable production to 750,000 tons by the end of 1985 and thus PRACTICALLY RESOLVING THE PROBLEM OF SUPPLYING THE POPULATION WITH VEGETABLES ACCORDING TO THE PHYSIOLOGICAL STANDARDS. The demand for early potatoes from the republic's population has been virtually satisfied, and it remains to increase the production and procurement of late potatoes with a view to FULLY SATISFYING THE REPUBLIC'S DEMAND FOR LOCALLY PRODUCED POTATOES BY THE END OF THE 5-YEAR PLAN.

The uninterrupted supply to the population of livestock products, primarily meat and milk, remains a complex problem for the republic's party organization in the 11th 5-Year Plan and the longer term.

I consider it essential to report to the congress delegates that--despite a considerable increase in the output of livestock products in the republic in recent years and the big plans for the 11th 5-Year Plan--in view of the increase in the republic's population and in particular the influx of vacationers, by the end of the 5-year plan we will have succeeded only in maintaining the present level of per capita meat consumption, while the level of milk consumption may even decline. That is why the Central Committee has already set about formulating an additional program to increase meat and milk production; its implementation will make it possible to considerably increase resources of livestock products. SIMILAR PROGRAMS MUST BE COMPILED BY EVERY RAYON, EVER KOLKHOZ AND THE SOVKHOZES AND INTERFARM ORGANIZATIONS.

These are some of the rural workers' basic tasks for the 11th 5-Year Plan. As you can see, the tasks are unprecedently difficult, and consequently their solution must be approached constructively.

The party's general line toward all around reinforcement of the material and technical base of the agroindustrial complex, and primarily that of agriculture, will be continued in the eighties.

According to the preliminary figures, in the 11th 5-Year Plan R1.95 billion in capital investments will be earmarked for the development of the republic's agriculture.

In the period under review much has been done to improve the standard of arable farming. Yet at the same time it must be noted that our greatest shortcomings and omissions are still to be observed precisely in the way we utilize our land resources.

The republic's Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (minister, Comrade G.B. Gadeliya) and Ministry of Agriculture (minister, Comrade Sh.M. Etsadashvili) and their local organs have failed to draw the proper conclusions from the strict criticism at the 25th Georgian CP Congress and have failed to take radical steps to improve sharply the utilization of reclaimed land and reclamation systems in the republic.

The Council of Ministers has been assigned the task of making a special study of the reasons for this situation and examining them in the very near future. In addition THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTENDS TO ANALYZE CAREFULLY THE STANDARD OF ARABLE FARMING AND STOCK-RAISING AND TO EXAMINE IT AT A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM IN 1982.

There are many shortcomings and omissions in stockraising, as was most frankly reported to the 20th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum in May last year. We have not succeeded in attaining the targets set by the 18th (1975) Central Committee Plenum for livestock productivity and the size of the breeding flock. A number of rayons (Akhalkalakskiy, Adigenskiy, Goriyskiy, Tetritskaroyskiy and Ambrolaurskiy Rayons, the zone of Taskhaltubo City and others have failed to draw the appropriate conclusions from the fundamental requirements arising out of the decisions of the Georgian CP Central Committee plenums and the Bureau, and, instead of increasing livestock productivity and the output of livestock products, are allowing them to decline systematically; nor is there everywhere an equally correct understanding of the decisive significance for livestock raising development of a solid fodder base and feed processing and manufacturing enterprises.

In the eighties it will be impossible to resolve the problems of agricultural production without introducing industrial methods for the output of agricultural products and without an all-around improvement in the standard of mechanization and automation. Unfortunately, we must record the fact that on the majority of farms equipment is being used inefficiently, the accumulated experience of its application is being disseminated slowly and the leadership of the Georgian State Committee for the Supply of Technical Production Equipment to Agriculture (Comrade D. Ye. Sarishvili), like the Ministry of Agriculture, is still adopting an incomprehensive passive stance.

We are pinning great hopes on the newly created Gruzselkhoz-Khimiya Republic Association and its local organs which must become legislators, so to speak, in the chemicalization of agriculture.

Major shortcomings and omissions have occurred in the utilization of capital investments earmarked for the development of agriculture. In the 10th 5-Year Plan state capital investments totaling R200 million were not assimilated as intended in the Agriculture Sections. As a result many projects greatly needed by agriculture were not commissioned. The Ministry of Rural Construction (Comrade I.A. Kharatishvili) should reorganize itself in earnest.

The land reclamation workers, who failed to commission 11,000 hectares of irrigated and drained land, also failed to keep their word. The agricultural workers themselves, through whose fault up to 50 percent of the capacities of dairy complexes, up to 30 percent of fattening facilities, up to 40 percent of complexes for rearing young replacement animals and so forth have still not been started up are not blameless in this respect.

The 25th Georgian CP Congress seriously criticized economic work in the countryside, through whose neglect a large number of farms have been running at a loss or making little profit. Over the period under review much has been done to ameliorate the financial situation of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

However, a very great deal still has to be done to introduce proper order into the economic and financial activity of all farms, particularly interfarm organizations. It must be said frankly that the Ministry of Agriculture and the rayon party and soviet organs have proved unable to raise the work of interfarm enterprises and organizations to the necessary level, and as a result they completed 1979 as a whole with losses.

The facts farms of Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast, the Tskhaltubo City zone and Tetrtskaroyevskiy, Tianetskiy, Adigenskiy and a number of other rayons, as before, completed the year of 1980 with big losses.

Despite the presence of a sufficient number of scientific research institutes and educational establishments and departments within them dealing with the questions of agrarian economics, such vital questions of the day as the system of agricultural management, ways of ensuring the effectiveness of capital investments, the scientifically substantiated planning of agricultural sectors, the introduction of progressive forms of organization and remuneration of labor, the development of auxiliary (subsidiary) sectors, the optimum development of the socialized and personal subsidiary farm, the effectiveness of the work of agrarian-industrial associations and so forth have still not been elaborated.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the leader of a rayon, and still more so of a farm, cannot rely merely on his own intuition and empirical adaptation to circumstance. THE KNOWLEDGE AND UTILIZATION OF ECONOMIC LAWS IS THE COMMON TASK OF BOTH SCIENTIFIC AND PARTY AND ECONOMIC WORKERS.

At the congress I want to warn the leaders of industrial enterprises and construction, transport and other organizations manufacturing output for agriculture or constructing installations for it that they should remember once and for all the categorical demands of the party's Central Committee on the priority and unconditional fulfillment of the orders of the countryside, for the status and further development of the national economy as a whole and the people's welfare depend largely on the precise work of the agroindustrial complex.

The unconditional implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the tasks set in "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990" is the vital concern of the Georgian CP and all the republic's working people. And there is no doubt that the tasks of the CPSU's agrarian policy in the republic will be successfully resolved!

5. The 11th 5-Year Plan is a 5-Year Plan of Construction Projects. Improving Capital Construction Efficiency and Quality and Strengthening its Material and Technical Base

Comrades!

During the seventies the republic's party organizations were able to effect a sharp breakthrough in the construction system and began to handle the problems of this most important sphere of the national economy better, more skillfully and more specifically.

Showing concern for the state of capital construction in the republic, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has personally inquired about the situation and has given us great help in overcoming the difficulties that have arisen.

Capital construction issues have been discussed at Central Committee plenums and all party committees.

Fulfilling the 25th congress decisions, we have managed to intensify the process of the concentration of capital investments and material resources, to secure a high growth rate in the volume of capital construction, to better administer and coordinate the work of participants in the construction process and to heighten the responsibility of the client organizations' leaders.

Many construction organizations have learned to correctly gear and channel collectives' efforts toward achieving high end results. Not just in the republic but also on a nationwide scale the republic's rural construction workers have won deserved prestige--with great support and help, of course, from our congress' guest S.D. Khitrov, USSR minister of rural construction--as have Ministry of Construction collectives with the help of G.A. Karavayev, the Tbiltonnelstroy Administration with the help of I.D. Sosnov, and Kavkazelektrosetstroy and many installation organizations with the help of B.V. Bakin.

As a result of the work done in the republic in the last 5-year plan, R7,293 million of capital investments--40 percent more than in the Ninth 5-Year Plan--were assimilated, and in 1980 the amount of capital investments assimilated showed an increase of R433 million, or 38 percent, over 1975.

The growth rate we have achieved is higher than the union average. This is the first time this has happened in the history of socialist building in the republic. This pleases us greatly.

During the aforementioned period R6,891 million of fixed capital was commissioned, or 36 percent more than in the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

BY THE END OF 1980 THE ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE GROWTH RATE MADE IT POSSIBLE TO SURPASS THE 5-YEAR PLAN TARGETS BY R288 MILLION FOR CAPITAL INVESTMENTS AND R124 MILLION FOR CONSTRUCTION AND INSTALLATION WORK. THE PROGRAM OF CONSTRUCTION AND INSTALLATION WORK WAS COMPLETED BY 7 DECEMBER 1980.

The 25th Georgian CP Congress' decision on reducing the amount of uncompleted construction is being fulfilled; uncompleted construction was 94 percent in 1980, compared with 119 percent in 1975. Definite work has been carried out to concentrate manpower, money and material resources on the most important national economic construction projects, and the number of projects under construction at any one time has decreased.

IT IS GRATIFYING TO NOTE THAT THE TARGETS FOR THE COMMISSIONING OF HOUSING, SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, CHILDREN'S PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS AND VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS WERE FULFILLED IN ALL 5 YEARS.

Using state capital investments and funds from housing cooperatives, apartment blocks with a total area of 5,416,000 square meters were constructed. This enabled us to move from 14th place in the country in 1974 to third place in 1980 in terms of the rate of increase in housing per urban inhabitant. The housing conditions of more than 680,000 people were improved. The program of contract work for the construction and commissioning of municipal projects was fulfilled.

Some 270 major industrial, agricultural and cultural and consumer services enterprises and complexes were commissioned, including, as already mentioned, the five units of the Inguri GES, three phases of the Vartsikhskaya GES' cascade, new capacities at the Rustavi metallurgical and chemical plants, the Zestafoni ferroalloy plant and the Kutaisi motor vehicle plant, and others.

As a result of the modernization and retooling of existing enterprises during the 10th 5-Year Plan, 30 percent more fixed capital was commissioned than during the preceding 5-year plan.

There are shifts in the construction of new facilities in the food and light industry spheres. Fifteen tea factories, 18 wine plants, 5 major light and meat and dairy industry complexes and a number of other projects were constructed.

At the same time there are still substantial shortcomings and omissions in capital construction. We have not managed to implement the 25th congress decisions in terms of the fulfillment of a number of basic capital construction indicators.

The set 10th 5-Year Plan targets for increased labor productivity were not fulfilled, although since 1978 we have been ahead of the unionwide indicators. The actual prime cost of construction and installation work is still high. No radical breakthrough has been achieved in improving construction quality.

The number of projects under construction at the same time still remains intolerably high (there are more than 12,000 of them in the republic!), funds and material resources are still being dissipated and the established norms for the duration of construction are not being adhered to, which is a source of substantial losses to the republic's national economy since the production of many most important types of output is delayed.

Totaling up the annual plans for the last 5-year plan, the shortfall in the assimilation of capital investments was R190 million and that in the commissioning of fixed capital was more than R990 million.

The situation is being aggravated by the shameful practice of disrupting the plan structure of work which has taken root in certain construction ministries and organizations. Extraplan and above-plan work is continuing, with the diversion of the material and technical and manpower resources allocated to construction projects that feature in the plan. Thus in 1976-79 alone the Georgian SSR Ministry of Construction overfulfilled the plan for its own construction and capital repair by R16 million. However, each year the ministry fails to fulfill the plans for 55 percent of its total number of clients.

An unsatisfactory situation exists regarding the fulfillment of the capital construction plans for individual sectors. Thus, according to annual results during the last 5-year plan the capital investments plan was not once fulfilled for such extremely important sectors as housing construction, agriculture, public health and others.

Analysis of the reasons for the late commissioning of production capacities and facilities in recent years shows that approximately 60-70 percent of the planned capacities are not commissioned on time because of delays in equipment delivery, the issue of design estimate documents and the allocations of sites for development, and because of inadequate financing.

To a certain extent the commissioning of projects is also delayed by substantial shortcomings in the planning of capital construction. Suffice it to say that in recent years it has been planned to commission during the first quarter only 7-8 percent of the year's total value of fixed capital.

It is clearly superfluous to say that, to achieve a radical breakthrough and improvement in construction, every possible measure must be taken to increase the effectiveness of planning. This is cogently shown by the experience of contracting organizations in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania and other union republics.

However, as yet the process of switching construction organizations over to the new economic management methods is going intolerably slowly in our republic. Construction ministries and organizations have failed to take the requisite measures to ensure that construction subunits work under the new economic conditions.

THIS YEAR, THE FIRST YEAR OF THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN, THE TRANSFER OF ALL CONSTRUCTION ORGANIZATIONS TO THE NEW ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM MUST BE COMPLETELY IMPLEMENTED. So Construction Ministry and department leaders must immediately make up for lost time and ensure the absolute fulfillment of this important national economic measure.

The development of capital construction, like any other sector, depends directly on the state of its production and technical base.

Unfortunately, construction materials production in the republic does not satisfy construction organizations' needs and there is a disproportion between construction sites' need for materials and supplies of them. For instance, compared with 1975, the volume of construction and installation work has increased approximately 40 percent, while production of prefabricated ferroconcrete and concrete structures and parts has increased 26 percent and production of wall-building materials has increased only 14 percent. Production of cement, structural bricks and asbestos cement shingles has decreased. Every possible method of increasing this sector's production must be sought out.

Without deviating from the general line of placing the production of nonmetalliferous materials on an industrial footing, with a view to further expanding production of them, we clearly must not miss the opportunity to exploit available deposits containing small raw material reserves, mostly for certain ministries' own needs and especially for kolkhozes, sovkhoses and cooperative organizations. A similar quest for reserves must be carried out with regard to other construction materials.

In recent years the quality of construction has certainly improved and the construction materials industry has also achieved some improvement; overall, however, satisfactory results have still not been obtained. Quality in housing construction is especially worrying. Thus in 1979 not a single apartment block was rated "excellent" when it was commissioned and the number of blocks rated "good" decreased. Work to install prefabricated ferroconcrete structures is carried out particularly badly, the standard of sanitary engineering work is extremely low and the quality of finishing work is quite appalling. We demand that the construction ministries, departments and organizations and Gosstroy (chairman, Comrade G.Z. Miranashvili) take the most effective and radical measures. The responsibility of the Soviet ispolkoms for construction quality must also be increased.

It is well known that Comrade G.V. Kolbin, member of the Central Committee Bureau and second secretary of the Central Committee, does a tremendous amount of work and does it with a will, producing great results. However, he has not so far managed to concentrate on the problems of housing construction, especially on housing quality, with his characteristic energy and invention.

During the period under review a considerable amount of work has been done to improve service of the client for housing and civic construction. It must be admitted that the leadership of the Main Administration for Capital Construction has drawn the appropriate conclusions from the criticism voiced at the 25th Georgian CP Congress.

The work to concentrate as much as possible the housing and civic construction carried out under the auspices of the Main Administration for Special Construction must be continued in the future. SPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO THE PROGRAM FOR FASTER HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN TBILISI CITY.

This was discussed in detail at the capital's last party conference.

ON THAT SAME OCCASION MENTION WAS MADE OF THE NEED TO COMPREHENSIVELY RESOLVE CITY PLANNING TASKS AND FORMULATE MODERN PRINCIPLES AND METHODS FOR ORGANIZING THE CITY ENVIRONMENT. IT IS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY THE INTEGRATION OF CONSTRUCTION WITH ARCHITECTURE, WHICH HAS A GREAT FUTURE AND WILL BEAUTIFY OUR CITY.

The gorkom leadership--especially its first secretary, Comrade T.N. Mentsehashvili, member of the Central Committee Bureau, who on the whole works hard and interestingly--must show greater implacability regarding shortcomings in the city economy and the consumer services sphere, and he must be more principled, consistent and incisive in raising and solving these and other problems in republic and union organs.

During the 11th 5-Year Plan construction workers must scale qualitatively new heights. The volume of construction and installation work will increase by 35 percent and will total about R1.2 billion. In other words, in the upcoming 5-year plan we will have to carry out a total of one-third more construction work than we did in the 10th 5-Year Plan. A considerable increase in production capacities in industry must be ensured.

A great deal needs to be done to modernize and retool existing enterprises.

Capital investments must as a matter of priority be channeled into completing construction projects that have been started in order to BRING THE VOLUME OF UNCOMPLETED CONSTRUCTION AND OF UNINSTALLED EQUIPMENT STOCKS DOWN TO THE NORMATIVE LEVELS.

One of the main trends in the activity of the entire republic party organization in the capital construction sphere during the 11th 5-Year Plan must be THE STRUGGLE TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY ONE TIME.

A FULL INVENTORY MUST BE MADE OF ALL 12,000 PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND USED AS THE BASIS FOR FORMULATING SPECIFIC MEASURES TO REDUCE CONSTRUCTION TIMES AND EXPEDITE THE COMMISSIONING OF EACH PROJECT.

Many unsolved problems remain in capital construction. The efforts of construction ministries and departments, client ministries and party organizations must be focused on solving them. We have all the conditions to ensure a further breakthrough in this sector in the early eighties.

6. The Further Development of Transport and Communications Is One of the Main National Economic Tasks of the 11th 5-Year Plan

Comrades!

Great positive shifts took place in the development of the republic's transportation in the seventies.

A world first was the commissioning in Georgia of the Lilo pneumatic container system for the transportation of bulk materials, which was developed in conjunction with specialists of Moscow's Transprogress special design office. This was a great achievement, and we accomplished it thanks to the attention and help of Comrade N.K. Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan. We were also helped by his deputy, Comrade V.Ye. Biryukov. The productivity of the system is more than 10 times the comparable indicator using motor transport. Our country's pioneering of this system is buttressed by inventor's certificates and patents in Britain, Italy, India, Canada, the United States, France, the FRG, Sweden and Japan.

In the seventies highly efficient overhead cableways of the Rikoti type were created and introduced for inaccessible agricultural sites, first and foremost for the creation of the fodder base for livestock raising.

A specialized organization was formed in the republic--the Gruzglavkanatdor Main Science and Production Administration--which has developed into the country's leading organization in the sphere of creating and introducing special overhead cableways and automation systems for them.

The republic's transport workers made a weighty contribution to the successes in fulfilling plans in the 10th 5-Year Plan. The Transcaucasus Railroad, the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Georgian Civil Aviation Administration, the Georgian Maritime Shipping Line and the Tbilisi subway coped with the 5-year-plan targets.

Much work has been done to increase the capacity of the Transcaucasus Railroad. The construction of second tracks proceeded rapidly and a start was made on expanding key stations and on the CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW MARABDA-AKHALKALAKI RAILROAD, WHICH IS NOT ONLY OF ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE BUT OF GREAT SOCIOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Nonetheless there are still many unresolved problems in transportation.

The requirements of the national economy and the population for shipments are not being fully satisfied, which is mainly the result of inadequate balance in the development of individual types of transport both among themselves and in relation to the republic's economic development. The efficiency of utilization of transport facilities is low. Freightcar turnaround has slowed down, the speed of movement of trains has fallen, the norms for freightcar, truck and ship idle time during loading operations are not being observed, the productivity of trucks--particularly in departmental transport--is low and in nontransport departments the number of small, unprofitable motor transport systems is increasing.

We still have many nonrational shipments. The struggle to preserve the freight being transported is not being waged satisfactorily.

Serious shortcomings, violations and even abuses are permitted in passenger service in all types of transportation. Extortion is practiced and the existence of free places is concealed with a view to speculation. Many waiting rooms on stations and at airports are insufficiently equipped.

We have spoken of this more than once. At the same time Comrade L.G. Vardosanidze, chief of the Transcaucasus Railroad, Comrade I.Z. Samadashvili, chief of the Georgian Civil Aviation Administration, and Comrade T.N. Davitashvili, minister of motor transport, are not adopting effective measures to rectify the situation.

The struggle to improve standards of passenger service must be waged systematically and purposefully.

It must frankly be admitted that the Republic Commission on Transportation Problems, which is headed by Comrade Z.A. Chkheidze, Bureau member and secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, who has a good knowledge of party and state work, still has little influence on the solution of transportation problems. It should also be said that we criticize transport workers a great deal and also that we give them little help.

During the eighties reserves for organizing the transportation process must be utilized, work to modernize and expand key railroad stations and construct second tracks must be continued and a decision must be obtained regarding the question of constructing a railroad bypass around Tbilisi station. Short hauls must be switched from railroad to motor transport, crosshauls eliminated and the level of containerized and packaged shipments increased.

Consideration must be given to using the highway across the Rokskiy Pass, which will be commissioned this year, to ship freight into and out of the republic. There is an opportunity to reduce the load on the railroads by stepping up the amount of coastal shipments by the Georgian Maritime Shipping Line. THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO INSTITUTE A FERRY SERVICE BETWEEN THE PORTS OF POTI AND ZHDANOV.

The construction of overhead cableways must be expanded, especially in high-altitude agricultural rayons.

The assimilation and wide introduction of new systems of pneumatic container and overhead cableway transport will make it possible to significantly reduce the load on traditional types of transportation and promises great economic advantages.

Subway construction workers are faced with complex tasks. DURING THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN THEY MUST COMPLETE WORK ON COMMISSIONING THE THIRD PHASE OF THE TBILISI SUBWAY, WHICH IS INTENDED TO SERVE THE RESIDENTS OF THE GLDANSKIY AND VARKETILSKIY HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS. The next stage must envisage the construction of subway lines in new housing developments, and also in old ones. Such a program is now being formulated.

We are now very close to solving the important problems of CONSTRUCTING A CAUCASUS MOUNTAIN [PEREVALNYY] RAILROAD. This will be a unique railroad. Although its construction is a relatively remote prospect, we must prepare for it right now. The construction of the mountain railroad will be a historic event for the republic and the entire Caucasus.

In accordance with Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instruction, a long-term comprehensive transport development program is being formulated to cover the period through the year 2000.

In this connection the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, all transport ministries and departments and the relevant research institutions and design and survey organizations must expedite the formulation of a similar republic program.

During the 10th 5-Year Plan the Ministry of Communications carried out definite work to develop all types of communications.

However, the ministry (Comrade C.I. Kobakhidze) was unfortunately unable to achieve the planned targets. The lag in the rate of introduction of new equipment, automation and comprehensive mechanization was the reason why the republic's Ministry of Communications found itself among the country's tail-enders in terms of many indicators.

The situation is particularly bad as regards the development of communications facilities in Tbilisi city.

With a view to eliminating the lag behind the average union indicators in forming the country's unified automated communications system it is necessary to seek out additional potential for accelerating the rate of development of the republic's communications facilities.

The Ministry of Communications needs help. The Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, Tbilisi Party Gorkom, Tbilisi Gorispolkom, raykoms and gorkoms must take an active part in solving communications problems.

7. Improving the Economic Machinery and the Management and Planning of the National Economy and Increasing their Effectiveness by Further Developing Socialist Democracy

Comrades!

Radical shifts took place in the seventies in the sphere of the management and planning of the national economy. Structural changes in the apparatus of the Georgian CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers, the creation of new sectorial sections and sectors and the improvement of the structure of the apparatus of Gosplan and a number of ministries and departments helped to strengthen the leadership of the entire national economy and to improve its scientific foundations.

Considerable organizational work is being carried out to ensure the fulfillment of the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Economic Machinery's Impact on Improving Production Efficiency and Work Quality."

As a result of the implementation of a package of preparatory measures in most ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, the first and second stages of the preparations for introducing into economic practice the new planning methods and methods of providing economic incentives have been successfully completed.

Union organs have considered the question of progress in implementing the aforementioned resolution in the Georgian SSR and have approved the work that has been done; the USSR Gosplan has been instructed to generalize the experience of organizing the work in Georgia.

Nonetheless, it would be a serious mistake to believe that everything is satisfactory in the sphere of the introduction of the new economic machinery.

The Ministry of Highways, the Ministry of Construction, *Gruzglavmontazhspestroy* and certain other leading economic organs, and also a number of enterprises under union jurisdiction have failed to support the Gosplan's initiative to switch certain production facilities under their jurisdiction over to the new planning methods and have reduced the number of base economic units to a minimum. Labor collectives at local level have not always been informed of the innovations that are being introduced.

The Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan must take the requisite measures to ensure the efficient implementation of the directive organs' decision on improving planning.

Taking into account planning organs' constantly increasing role in developing the socialist economy and improving the management of the entire national economy complex, at the last congress we severely criticized Gosplan's style and methods of work--its lack of initiative, uncommunicativeness and insufficient competence.

Meetings between Central Committee secretaries and Bureau members and personnel from the Gosplan apparatus and its local organs and mutual consultations, briefings and reports have become a good tradition.

Since the 25th Georgian CP Congress the Gosplan has received quite good cadre reinforcements and, for the first time in the republic, new subunits have been formed to deal with extremely important spheres and problems such as planning the development of science and technology, retooling and modernization, quality, the utilization of secondary raw materials, territorial and composite long-term planning and so forth.

The organizational strengthening of the Gosplan, along with the deepening of the corresponding scientific and economic research, made it possible DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF PLANNING PRACTICE, TO MAKE THE TRANSITION TO FORMULATING 5-YEAR AND ANNUAL COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS BROKEN DOWN BY ADMINISTRATIVE REGION, AND TO EMBRACE ALL CITIES AND RAYONS WITH THESE PLANS.

Once we have overcome the exceptional growing pains and reached the requisite degree of methodological and organizational sophistication, we will have mastered a really first-class instrument for the planned management of the whole national economic complex and we will have been able to ensure really the optimum development and siting of production forces and the fullest and most rational utilization of our manpower resources and natural wealth, to equalize and improve the economic and social development levels of individual regions, especially autonomous regions, and to ensure that the interests of their comprehensive development are harmoniously combined with the interests of further deepening specialization and of the efficient division of labor on both the republican and state-wide scales.

The disregard of these issues in the past caused tremendous damage to the whole national economy and led to the republic's laggardness.

In recent years the Georgian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have had to take special measures to eliminate the consequences of the negligent planning practice of past years. In the period under review alone resolutions were adopted on accelerating the economic and social development of Abkhazia, Adzharia and South Osetia and on another 25 rayons. The development of the regions on the basis of the implementation of the "Georgia--2000--regions" comprehensive targeted program currently being formulated is a task of prime importance.

We are well aware that this is not the best possible solution of the issue, but nonetheless, the Central Committee has been forced to take this step since the matter will not brook being delayed until such time as a sophisticated intrarepublic regional planning system making it possible to solve the problem of the regional economies not in isolation but within the complex of the entire national economy has come into full operation in our republic.

At the same time we are setting Gosplan this task and we demand that it do its utmost to speed the completion of the switch to this system of work.

While noting the several achievements, we must emphasize that the planning of the national economy's development and the planning, analytical and economic work that has been carried out, ESPECIALLY AT THE RAYON AND CITY LEVELS, are still a long way from the requisite degree of sophistication.

While the fulfillment of technical and economic indicators is systematically monitored by enterprise leaders, the same cannot be said for the social development plans. The fulfillment of the plan as regards the social section is not always analyzed at the end of the year, and labor collectives are not briefed on the results of the implementation of particular social measures. This practice is incompatible with the democratic methods of running the planned economy.

IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GOSPLAN AND THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS IN THE REPUBLIC, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MUST IN THE NEAR FUTURE COMPLETE THE FORMULATION OF REALIZATION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE 11TH 5-YEAR-PLAN TASKS OF GENERAL MANAGEMENT SCHEMES FOR THE RELEVANT SECTORS.

We must constantly improve the activity of all national economic management organs and republic ministries and state committees and increase the role and prestige of the republic's ministers, ministry collegiums, deputy ministers, ministry departments and other subunits.

There must be an improvement in the management of enterprises, every plant, factory, mine, GES, combine, construction organization, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, production, science and production, agroindustrial or other association, every facility, every shop, every team, every link, every workplace.

As a rule, industrial enterprises and organizations in the republic MUST HAVE STAFF SOCIOLOGISTS, SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL [INZHENERNYY] PSYCHOLOGISTS, INDUSTRIAL DESIGNERS AND OTHERS.

Despite the considerable positive changes in the work of finance and banking and statistical institutions and also price-setting organs, there are a number of substantial shortcomings and omissions. In 1979 alone as many as 65 industrial enterprises in the republic finished their economic and financial activity with losses totaling more than R25 million.

At many enterprises and organizations the principles and demands of economic accounting are crudely violated and considerable amounts of circulating capital are diverted to pay debts; there are great above-normative residues of raw and other materials and finished output; full use is often not made of production capacities.

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO SECURE A FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN THE STYLE AND METHODS OF WORK AND TO STOP UP THE ORGANIZING ROLE OF CENTRAL INTERDEPARTMENTAL ORGANS (Gosplan, Ministry of Finance, banks, State Committee for Labor, State Committee for Prices, Central Statistical Administration, Gossnab) and their subunits at local level, and also of sectorial ministry and department economic planning services and their regional subunits in improving economic management. They must reorganize their style and methods of work to manage the economy and improve its balance and efficiency in the light of the 11th 5-Year Plan tasks.

In the last few years the material and technical supply of the Georgian SSR national economy's requirements has improved markedly. However, supply and sales work in the republic as a whole still suffers from serious shortcomings. The structure of material and technical supply is imperfect. The material and technical base is weak. Party leadership of the material and technical supply sphere must be improved. The situation improved somewhat with the advent of Comrade A.I. Buadze, but there is still a very great deal to be done. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY CAN ONLY BE IMPROVED BY FURTHER DEVELOPING ITS DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS. The very concept implies active participation in management by the broad working people's masses, by the people. We have now secured such a scale in socialist competition.

Socialist competition is democratism, humanism, collectivism, cooperation, mutual assistance, internationalism, friendship and fraternity in action:

The further development of the democratic and scientific foundations of the management and planning of the national economy--the absolute implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decision on improving planning and management and the economic machinery's impact on improving production efficiency and work quality--is one of the most important tasks of the republic's party organizations.

II. Constantly Increasing the People's Well-Being and Showing More Consideration and Concern for People

Comrades!

In the last 5-year plan both the process of the intensification of the national economy and labor productivity growth were accompanied by a steady rise in the level of the people's well-being. The population's real income increased more than 30 percent in 1976-80 in the republic; the average monthly wages of workers and employees increased almost 20 percent and kolkhoz members' average monthly remuneration increased 50 percent.

The 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans will be an important stage in the growth of the people's well-being. During the 11th 5-Year Plan the intention is to increase the consumption fund as a proportion of per capita national income--an important integral indicator of the level of well-being--by 25 percent, and it will total R1,269. The population's money income will increase significantly. The plan is to increase by 1985 the average monthly money wages of workers and employees to R175--that is, by 21 percent--and the monthly remuneration of kolkhoz members to R130, or by 27 percent.

Per capita social consumption funds will increase from R360 to R477 in 1985 and to R553 in the following 5-year period.

Under the present conditions increased well-being is provided not only by the volume of consumption or the level of satisfaction of traditional requirements but by the satisfaction of higher, more progressive requirements--cultural, spiritual and social.

DURING THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN IT IS INTENDED TO COMPLETELY ELIMINATE BARRACKS AND BASEMENT ACCOMODATION BY MOVING THE CITIZENS LIVING IN SUCH ACCOMODATION INTO WELL-APPOINTED APARTMENTS.

WE REPORT TO THE CONGRESS WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE PROJECTED PROGRAM IN TRADE AND CONSUMER SERVICES AND THE DECISIONS OF THE GEORGIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE FIFTH PLENUM HAVE BEEN FULFILLED IN TERMS OF ALMOST ALL THE MAIN ECONOMIC INDICATORS. The 10th 5-Year-Plan targets and pledges for increased retail trade turnover were fulfilled early, by 23 December.

The 5-year-plan targets and pledges were fulfilled and overfulfilled as regards the sale of consumer services, the volume of which increased 60 percent for the republic as a whole and 110 percent for rural areas.

It should be noted that the increase in trade turnover and consumer services in the republic in 1976-80 proceeded at increasing preferential rates compared with the average union indicators, which made it possible to reduce our lag behind the prevailing unionwide level of per capita retail trade turnover from 21 percent in 1975 to 15 percent in 1980, and to completely eliminate the lag in terms of consumer service sales per city and rural resident.

At the same time the planned growth rate of trade turnover and the increase in paid services from year to year do not cover customer demand. The gap between these quantities--that is, the main proportion between the population's increased disposable income and commodity supplies for that income--is unfavorable. During the 10th 5-Year Plan the population's unspent [nerealizovanny] money income in our republic increased by more than 150 percent. The planned increase in trade turnover during the 11th 5-Year Plan will not eliminate this disproportion.

In the light of this we must increase retail trade turnover during the 11th 5-Year Plan by considerably more than the "Basic Guidelines" envisaged.

Special attention is merited by the group constituted by food commodities, the level of consumption of which, though it is rising in the republic, is lagging behind the prevailing norms.

Georgia is a resort republic (each year about 6 million people come to Georgia on vacation) and it must be remembered that the contingent of vacationers will be considerably increased in the future. The population is growing and income is growing.

The future requirements of the Georgian SSR's population for basic foodstuffs have been determined on the basis of these facts.

These data must once again be carefully reviewed, with scientific institutions and the Gosplan taking part, and used as step-by-step reference points in elaborating the republic's comprehensive food program for the eighties.

IT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK IN THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN TO STEP UP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEGATIVE PHENOMENA IN THE TRADE AND CONSUMER SERVICES SPHERE. The Central Committee Fifth Plenum's decisions regarding this have not been completely fulfilled. Central Committee Secretary Comrade Z.A. Chkheidze, the Central Committee department, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Consumer Services, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, people's control organs, the relevant commissions for the strengthening of discipline and the struggle against negative phenomena, and raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms must take resolute measures to eradicate instances of customers being deceived, being given short measure or short weight and being overcharged, and instances of embezzlement, theft, extortion, rudeness and low standards of customer service.

The population's social security is improving; expenditure on these purposes in 1980 showed an increase of almost 22 percent over 1976, totaling R700 million. Some 965,000 residents of the republic receive pensions and benefits from the state.

WORK IS BEING CARRIED OUT TO RECRUIT PENSIONERS MORE WIDELY FOR SOCIAL PRODUCTION, ACCORDING TO THEIR AGE AND ALSO STATE OF HEALTH. More than 40 percent of old-age pensioners and 65 percent of Category three invalids are working. This is a good trend and it must be deepened.

SPECIAL CONCERN MUST BE SHOWN FOR THE PROSPERITY, FOR THE BUDGET, FOR INCREASING THE INCOME OF EVERY LARGE FAMILY. Mothers of many children and large families must not only be materially secure. Special party and state concern must be shown toward them and they must enjoy universal respect.

The protection of our citizens' health is improving. Party organizations have concentrated on improving the level and quality of the general health service, reinforcing rural and in particular mountain regions with cadres, and developing the medical material base of medical institutions. The state's spending on public health in the republic during the 10th 5-Year Plan was R1,155 million. Losses resulting from temporary incapacity for work declined by 14 percent, and the incidence of primary disability [producing category one invalids] fell by almost 18 percent among workers and employees and by 30 percent among kolkhoz members. In purely economic terms that is a saving of millions and millions of rubles for the people.

Despite this, there are still many shortcomings, flaws and omissions in the public health sphere and there are still many instances of patients being treated callously or negligently, of violations of medical ethics, of extortion and bribery. It has still not been possible to shift the center of general health work to medical and polyclinic institutions, to strengthen the latter's material and technical base, to equip them with modern diagnostic and medical hardware, or to staff them with adequately qualified cadres. The level of sanitary standards does not satisfy us either.

The Ministry of Health (Minister Comrade G.G. Lezhava), the ministry collegium and apparatus, local public health organs and the collectives of public health institutions must substantially improve their methods. Their work still does not match up to the party's demands.

Our resorts and tourism must be placed in the service of Soviet people's health.

Resorts and tourism must be developed sensibly, with due regard for our food and manpower resources.

The common urgent task of communists in the services sphere--trade, consumer services, transport, municipal services and public health--and of the entire party organization as a whole in the coming period is to considerably improve the quality and standards of consumer services by further increasing working people's professional skill, strengthening their ideological and political and cultural education, everywhere sharpening the struggle against all kinds of abuses and violations, and by strengthening discipline.

Comrades!

The conservation of nature and the environment is an extremely acute problem for people nowadays. It can be said without exaggeration that, in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee's guidelines, WE HAVE MANAGED TO MAKE A 180-DEGREE TURN TOWARD [TACKLING] THESE PROBLEMS. During the 10th 5-Year Plan R225 million were spent on these purposes.

An international congress on environmental conservation problems and an all-republic scientific and practical conference have been held in Tbilisi. The Georgian CP Central Committee 18th (1979) Plenum approved a plan of comprehensive nature-conservation measures based on scientific recommendations. A UNIFIED HARMONIOUS NATURE-CONSERVATION SERVICE HEADED BY A STATE COMMITTEE HAS EMERGED IN OUR REPUBLIC. A DECISION OF THE GEORGIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU RECENTLY SET UP, UNDER THE REPUBLIC'S COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, THE NEW GRUZMOPBEREGOSHCHITA SCIENCE AND PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION, which will handle research, design, survey and construction work to protect the Black Sea coastline.

All these actions have created the firm preconditions for fulfilling during the 11th 5-Year Plan an intensive program to clean up the air and water, construct purification installations, lessen noise pollution and maintain the ecological balance, to implement which about R400 million are being earmarked.

We must continue to improve the coordination of work to conserve nature and the environment, make our actions more scientifically valid and increase still further the role and prestige of the State Committee for Nature Conservation, the Ministry of Forestry and the relevant institutes.

III. Combining the Achievements of the Scientific and Technical Revolution With the Advantages of Socialism More Effectively and Improving Party Leadership of Scientific Establishments and Public Education

Comrades!

We live in an age of the rapid development of the scientific and technical revolution.

The seventies and the period under review were marked by the further improvement of party leadership of and party concern for science and scientific cadres, by new achievements in the development of fundamental and applied research, the natural sciences and the humanities and by the acceleration of the rate of scientific, technical and socio-cultural progress.

The results of many research projects have gained unionwide and worldwide recognition. In the 10th 5-Year Plan a number of projects in the fields of physics, medicine, geography and production automation were awarded Lenin and USSR and Georgian SSR State Prizes.

During the period under review alone the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau adopted over 50 resolutions on further developing science and improving the work of certain scientific research institutes.

The Georgian CP Central Committee adopted measures to improve the planning, coordination and financing of science and accelerate the introduction of its results into life. Work was carried out under union- and republic-level targeted and comprehensive programs to resolve high important scientific, scientific and technical and national economic problems.

CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION HAS DEVOTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN THE ABKHAZSKAYA AND ADZHARSKAYA ASSRS AND IN THE YUGO-OSETINSKAYA AUTONOMOUS OBLAST. Scientific subunits were organized in Kutaisi and Rustavi. Measures are being implemented to consolidate the efforts of our scientists working in the social sciences field.

During the years of the 10th 5-Year Plan more than 24,000 measures to create and introduce new equipment and technology were implemented, almost one-third more than in the 9th 5-Year Plan.

The saving obtained from introducing scientific and technical achievements into the national economy was almost double the figure for the previous 5-year plan; the additional profit from reducing the prime cost of output totaled R120 million, or 50 percent more than in the previous 5-year plan; and the equivalent of almost 23,000 jobs was saved.

Science's successes and the results of scientific, technical and socioeconomic progress in the republic gratify us all and we would like to convey profound gratitude from the lofty rostrum of the congress to our scientists, scientific collectives and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations in scientific research institutes and technological design organizations for their fruitful work in the spirit of the party's demands.

At the same time it should be said with all party-minded frankness that our science, scientists, specialists working in the field of science and scientific services, and our designers have done far from everything to accelerate the expansion of the economy of the republic and the country.

In terms of the basic parameters of scientific and technical progress our republic is still appreciably below the average all-union level.

In relative terms the number of implemented measures to introduce new equipment and technology and actual expenditure on their introduction is 60 percent below the all-union average, additional profit from the introduction of these measures is 50 percent below and the annual saving from measures relating to new equipment which has been introduced is only 60 percent of the average.

One of the reasons for this lag is the fact that, despite the positive shifts, extensive growth factors still predominate in the development of science. Almost two-thirds of the resources which the state allocates for science in our republic go into the wages fund, while only 25-28 percent go into providing science with research equipment and only 10-12 percent into capital investments in science.

Some 6-8 times more funds are spent on scientific research work than on experimental design projects, and only 1-2 percent of the funds allocated for the technical sciences are spent on rendering scientific and technical assistance to enterprises and organizations. In the final analysis all this has a negative impact on the duration of and economic and social return from science.

The Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the Academy of Sciences Presidium must formulate in the immediate future precise and specific proposals aimed at the intensive development of science in the republic, primarily academy science, and submit them for examination by the Georgian CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers.

The information service must be expanded and improved.

More attention should be devoted to the further development of the social sciences, the sciences concerned with man.

The Academy of Sciences Presidium, Central Committee ideology sections, the Institute of Party History and Central Committee Secretary Comrade G.N. Yenukidze must compile and submit for approval by the Central Committee Bureau in the very near future a comprehensive program for the solution of the most important problems in the field of the social sciences in the eighties. This program must form the basis for pooling the efforts of social scientists in solving fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and ideological and educational work.

Because of an exceptionally heavy workload we were unable to hold a precongress Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum devoted to further intensifying party leadership of science and scientific and technical progress, although practical preparations for such a plenum had been made. BUT ONE OF THE FIRST CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUMS AFTER THE CONGRESS WILL BE DEVOTED TO THIS QUESTION. Not only scientific workers but also all party organizations and raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms must make serious preparations for this plenum. THE FURTHER INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC PROGRESS IS A MOST IMPORTANT TASK FOR THE GEORGIAN CP IN THE EIGHTIES.

Higher and secondary specialized education was a subject of special attention and concern on the part of the Georgian CP Central Committee during the seventies and the 10th 5-Year Plan period. It can be asserted that the last decade was a period of fundamental importance for the republic's higher education system. In the struggle to restore Leninist norms of party, state and social life in the republic this field, which had been particularly contaminated with negative phenomena in the past, was the acid test of the effectiveness of the communists' work to improve the moral and political climate. You know that there were many difficulties in establishing the requisite party order in higher education, particularly in organizing the admission of young people to VUZes. However, the Georgian CP Central Committee and the republic's party organization managed to overcome them. We can confidently state that THE PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAS INCREASED INCREDIBLY, WHICH HAS CREATED THE NECESSARY FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR TRAINING PROFESSIONALLY COMPETENT, POLITICALLY MATURE AND SOCIALLY ACTIVE SPECIALISTS. We have thereby laid a firm and reliable foundation for the future intensive development of diverse spheres of the republic's national economy, science and sociocultural building.

Now almost two-thirds of VUZ students have undergone good labor schooling at enterprises, on construction sites and on kolkhozes and sovkhoses before they enroll, and are children of workers and kolkhoz members. The number of communist students has almost quadrupled in comparison with 1973.

Proceeding from the need to intensify and deepen work on the communist, ideological political and moral education of students and on molding in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, civic-mindedness, patriotism and internationalism, the Georgian CP Central Committee, as is known, HAS CREATED A HARMONIOUS STATE SYSTEM OF IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL WORK WITH STUDENTS IN THE REPUBLIC. A corresponding post of deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education with an apparatus has been instituted and the posts of vice chancellors and deputy deans for ideological education work have been instituted in the republic's VUZes. This system's operational experience has proved that it is viable and totally effective despite the fact that this is the first time such a system has been introduced.

Numerous meetings with students by Central Committee secretaries and Bureau members, the now traditional meetings of the student aktiv, their active participation in labor semesters and a number of other measures have shown that OUR PRESENT STUDENT BODY IS A RELIABLE DETACHMENT, A PRECIOUS ASSET OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE COUNTRY and that in the very near future we will have in them highly skilled specialists who are active builders of the material and technical base of communism.

We must continue our active contacts with students and ascertain and react sensitively to the problems worrying them.

At the same time we cannot consider that the theoretical and practical standard of the training of all young specialists with higher and secondary education matches the requirements of the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution and of scientific, technical and sociocultural progress.

Training and educational tasks in VUZes can only be successfully resolved if we have highly competent professors and teachers, broadly erudite people working creatively and setting an example of morality, civic-mindedness and devotion to communist ideals. Unfortunately, the Georgian CP Central Committee has not yet been able to probe deeply into the problems of our educators. We believe that one of the most important immediate tasks is to seriously tackle this problem, familiarize ourselves in detail with the cadres of higher education teachers and consult directly and regularly with them.

We have recently been able to interest certain union-level ministries and departments and obtain from them resources for VUZ material and technical facilities. But these are initial and modest steps by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the Gosplan. We consider that MINISTRIES, DEPARTMENTS AND MAJOR ENTERPRISES AND ASSOCIATIONS MUST TAKE A MOST ACTIVE PART IN STRENGTHENING AND EXPANDING VUZ FACILITIES. Anyone who gives serious thought to the development of his sector and its future cannot fail to give thought to giving real assistance to VUZes training cadres for their sectors in building academic and laboratory blocs and fitting them out with the most modern equipment and technology.

For the republic's general education school system the seventies were characterized by a shift on the part of the Georgian party organization in the direction of thinking about the schools and their problems, consulting directly with school and pedagogical collectives and listening at Central Committee Bureau sessions to questions relating to the work of individual secondary schools and children's institutions. Participation by Bureau and Secretariat members in the work of the August teachers conferences, speeches by them and also political reports by raykom and gorkom secretaries at these conferences have become a fine rule for us.

A great deal of purposeful work is being done to improve the ideological political, labor and moral education of the rising generation.

Specific ways to improve the general education system and the content of this work were defined in the well-known Georgian Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers resolution and at the fourth teachers congress.

Essential significance was attached to the measures to further improve the teaching and study of Russian in educational institutions and the party decisions on measures to improve the teaching and study of Georgian, Abkhazi, Azeri, Armenian and Ossetian in the correspondent general education schools.

DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW THE TRANSITION TO UNIVERSAL SECONDARY EDUCATION WAS COMPLETED, THE EXAMINATION PASS RATE INCREASED, THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS REPEATING YEARS WAS ALMOST HALVED AND EDUCATIONAL AND LABOR DISCIPLINE INCREASED. NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS TO ACCOMMODATE 163,000 STUDENTS WERE COMMISSIONED AND LABOR EDUCATION IMPROVED.

However, comparison with the figures for the union as a whole testifies that there are still many unresolved problems.

We have been unable to eliminate from the school system manifestations of lack of objectivity when assessing students' knowledge, student dropouts, violations of the pedagogical ethics and moral laws of the Soviet school system by certain teachers, the spread of illegal private coaching, which has become a serious moral and social problem in our republic, and certain other phenomena.

The Georgian CP Central Committee and the republic's communists and working people cannot resign themselves to this situation in the general education school system. The Ministry of Education (Comrade O.D. Kinkladze) and the Ministry Collegium and apparatus must restructure their work style and methods and fully mobilize the entire large system of the leadership of public education and of school teacher collectives.

THE SCHOOL IS A MOST PRECISE AND COMPLEX AND HIGHLY SENSITIVE MECHANISM LINKED WITH THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ALMOST 1 MILLION OF THE MOST CHERISHED AND FINEST INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC. Party, trade union and Komsomol organs and organizations also have serious shortcomings in the work of the general education school system on their conscience. Nor is the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau satisfied with its attitude toward school problems. We cannot say that Comrades G.N. Yenukidze or O.Ye. Cherkeziya or the Science and Educational Establishments Department are succeeding in keeping the problems of the school system, the problems of the training and education of the rising generation at the center of their attention.

The system of vocational and technical education is developing in close conjunction with the general education school system in the republic. THE LAST DECADE WAS A PERIOD OF THE MOLDING OF THIS SYSTEM IN LINE WITH PRESENT-DAY REQUIREMENTS. THESE WERE YEARS IN WHICH THE SYSTEM WAS BEING ESTABLISHED AND GAINING AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE.

More than 135,000 young workers were trained within this system during the 5-year plan. Our republic was the first in the country to achieve full secondary education for the young students in all vocational and technical colleges.

The 17th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum (1979) mapped out specific targets for the development of the system for the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plan periods and determined ways to eliminate shortcomings in its work.

Party committees and the directly concerned [bazovyy] ministries, departments, associations and enterprises have a great deal of work to do to strengthen the material and production training base of the vocational and technical education system.

WE SHOULD ALL REMEMBER THAT THE VOCATION AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION SYSTEM HAS A BIG FUTURE AND THAT A FIRM FOUNDATION FOR IT MUST BE LAID TODAY. THIS IS THE TASK.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan period and the coming decade we must increasingly subordinate the development of science and technology to the solution of the most important problems of further scientific, technical and sociocultural progress and to the acceleration of the transition of the republic's economy to the path of intensive development. We must improve the entire system of public education and the training of highly competent and politically mature specialists and workers in the mass trades. This is a matter for the entire party organization and all the republic's communists. This is one of the main avenues of all our work for the eighties.

IV. Intensifying Party Leadership of Social Processes and of the Development of the Working Class, Kolkhoz Peasantry and Intelligentsia

THE RADICAL IMPROVEMENT, IN LINE WITH THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS' DEMANDS, OF LEADERSHIP OF THE PROCESS OF SHAPING THE SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSES AND SOCIAL GROUPS should be regarded as one of the Georgian CP's major achievements during the period under review.

DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW WE OVERCAME THE WELL-KNOWN ISOLATION OF LEADERS, INCLUDING PARTY LEADERS, FROM THE WORKING CLASS. Regular meetings and talks with representatives of the working class and labor collectives have become an unwritten law for leading workers. And it must be said that we have learned a lot and will continue to learn from the working class. THIS IS OUR MAIN ACADEMY, OUR MAIN LABORATORY.

Relying on the working class, we launched a struggle involving all the people for the implementation of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and the unswerving implementation of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi Gorkom and all other party and government resolutions on the Georgian Republic.

In launching the struggle to improve the moral and psychological climate we relied on the working class and we will continue to rely on it in developing and deepening this struggle in the eighties.

We have conducted scientific studies of the working man's opinion of and attitude toward the processes taking place in the republic and have attempted to avoid formalism in our work with him.

But all these are only the first steps since, in the eighties, we are faced with further developing socialist democracy, and the main role here must be played by the working class.

In political life the working class provides yardsticks of the development of socialist democracy and also of the consolidation of socialist discipline and a communist attitude toward labor and sets remarkable examples of social activeness.

There are 19,855 worker deputies in the supreme and local soviets of the Georgian SSR and the autonomous formations. They do a great deal of work.

The CPSU--a ruling political party and a working class party--has become the party of all the people at the stage of mature socialism. There are 2,176 workers in the Central Committee and obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. As a rule it is workers who have been elected obkom, gorkom and raykom bureau members.

What trends and natural laws should be noted in the development of the republic's working class since the adoption of the well-known resolution on the Tbilisi Gorkom and between congresses? The steady trend of the quantitative growth of the working class should first be noted. Whereas the number of workers totaled 2.2 million in 1972, in 1980 the figure was 2.7 million. This trend will continue in the future too. Second, we can see the working class growing more rapidly than the population as a whole. During the period under review the population grew 6.8 percent whereas the working class grew 22 percent. Third, the proportion of the total population accounted for by the working class grew objectively (47 percent in 1972, 56 percent in 1980).

Analysis shows that the working class is increasing in size: first, through graduates of vocational and technical and secondary schools; second, thanks to migrants from rural areas; third, the organization in rural areas of branches of various industrial enterprises and production workshops and thus the involvement of the rural population in industrial labor promote an increase in the total number of workers; fourth, the growth of the working class is promoted by the transformation of certain kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The comparative figures on the level of workers' education in 1970-1980 merit consideration. In 1980 the percentage of workers with higher, unfinished higher and secondary specialized education showed an increase of 4.6 points over 1970, while the percentage with general secondary education showed an increase of 16.8 points.

THE INCREASE IN THE WORKING CLASS' CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL STANDARDS IS A LAW OF THE MATURE SOCIALIST ERA.

If we are to add a few details to its social portrait, the republic's working class displays high political consciousness, profound internationalism, a spirit of collectivism, an innovative spirit in labor, crystal-clear honesty, fidelity to socialist democracy and discipline, implacability toward shortcomings and negative phenomena, keen hatred for all deviations from the rules of socialist communal life and love and devotion to Lenin's great party.

On behalf of our congress allow me to thank the republic's glorious working class for their heroic labor in the 10th 5-Year Plan and for the values created by their talent and energy.

The party Central Committee must admit that many committees, raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms have no harmonious comprehensive program of work to develop the working class.

These issues are not formulated profoundly enough in regions' economic and social development plans.

Capital, fundamental works and monographs, must be created about the modern working class, its social and moral and psychological portrait, the continuity of generations, the historical philosophical and psychological nature of the working class and its revolutionary, internationalist essence.

In the light of the prospects for our economic and social development we need to think about creating a unified and precise system for training, retraining and improving the qualifications of mass profession cadres for all sectors of the national economy both within the vocational and technical education system and actually in the production facility.

GREAT ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO QUESTIONS OF IMPROVING WORKERS' WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS. TOMORROW'S WORKER IS A MAN OF GREAT CULTURE AND CIVIC-MINDEDNESS WHO HAS REACHED THE SUMMITS OF PROFESSIONAL SKILL, A MAN WITH ENGINEERING KNOW-HOW WHO CAN HANDLE EXTREMELY COMPLEX MACHINES AND MECHANISMS, THE MAIN FIGURE IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION AND OUR FUTURE SOCIOPOLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

That is how we see those who must resolve the majestic tasks of communist building in the future 5-year plans. We must always keep this in mind and be guided by this in our practical work.

Comrades:

The countryside of Soviet Georgia, like that of the whole country, is developing swiftly from the economic, social and cultural viewpoints. Its face is changing. In the process of the struggle to implement the party's Leninist agrarian policy PROFOUND SOCIAL PROCESSES ARE TAKING PLACE: THE EROSION OF THE MATERIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE, BETWEEN PHYSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LABOR. THE PROPOSITIONS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM ARE BEING TRANSFORMED INTO REALITY. The leading forces in the countryside are the kolkhoz peasantry and the sovkhoz and state farm working people, whose composition has shown substantial quantitative and qualitative shifts between congresses.

In the 10th 5-Year Plan alone fixed capital amounting to more than R1.15 billion was commissioned in the republic's villages. All this helps to transform rural labor into a variety of industrial labor.

We have already mentioned the construction of subsidiaries of major enterprises in the countryside.

The development of industry in the countryside is one of the most important trends in recent years.

The process will deepen and expand in the coming decade. This trend is not only significant so far as the fuller utilization of manpower resources and the increase of Georgia's economic potential are concerned but also marks fundamental social changes in the countryside.

The construction of each subsidiary marks not only the commissioning of new production capacities but also the expansion of a whole complex of facilities in rural areas--housing, trade, consumer and medical service facilities, cultural enlightenment institutions and sports centers and so forth. In its turn this must halve the abnormal migration to the cities by the rural population.

At the same time we can avoid overloading industrial centers.

A NEW TYPE OF RURAL WORKER IS EMERGING WHO, UNLIKE THE URBAN WORKER, PRODUCES BOTH INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT.

The republic's Council of Ministers and Gosplan must expedite the elaboration of a scheme for siting subsidiaries of industrial enterprises in rural areas and, on the other hand, party organizations and representatives of the social sciences must carefully study all aspects of the possible consequences of this complex economic and social process.

AT THE SAME TIME IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUBSIDIARIES MUST PROMOTE IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

In the period between congresses the political self-consciousness and cultural and general educational standards of the kolhoz peasantry and rural working people grew and a new character and structure of their consciousness and value orientation emerged with the change in the character and structure of agricultural labor. THE RURAL WORKING PERSON'S WORLD OUTLOOK AND MENTALITY AND DAILY LIFE DISPLAY THE FEATURES OF A PERSON BELONGING TO THE SOCIAL HOMOGENEOUS SOVIET SOCIETY MORE THAN THE FEATURES OF THE MENTALITY AND CHARACTER OF THE PEASANT CLASS.

This has taken place against the background of the party's measures to form an agroindustrial complex, against the background of the Georgian CP's well-known measures to improve social--including production--relationships in the countryside in the spirit of the party's agrarian policy.

The trend toward a reduction in the number of working people employed in agriculture along with an increase in the latter's productivity is very pronounced in the countryside. This is a pattern of the era of the scientific and technical revolution. It is explained by the introduction of mechanization and scientific and technical achievements into production and by the integration of science and production.

A program is being implemented with the aim of overcoming the material differences between city and countryside.

IN TERMS OF MANY PARAMETERS OF WELL-BEING, RURAL PEOPLE ARE ALREADY ALMOST NO WORSE OFF THAN THE CITY. For instance, people living in the country on the whole eat, dress and satisfy their requirements for many cultural and everyday goods no worse than do people living in the cities, while the area of available housing, total income per family, the cleanliness of the environment and certain other living conditions are in many villages better than in the cities.

At the same time we all certainly realize that we still have a very great deal of work to do in solving the countryside's urgent social and economic problems.

We have taken the first steps toward reviving certain abandoned villages.

I think it would be correct for the congress to instruct the republic's government, with the participation of all interested ministries, departments and scientific centers, to formulate a special comprehensive program for the social and economic development of literally all mountain areas and to submit it for the approval of the Central Committee Bureau and maybe even of a plenum. HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE CONSTRUCTION OF WATER MAINS AND COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES, THE PROVISION OF AMENITIES AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR VILLAGES' ARCHITECTURE MUST BE ENERGETICALLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY TACKLED.

Rural working people, the rural working class and the kolkhoz peasantry have from congress to congress played an increasingly large role in the republic's political life. During the period under review kolkhoz democracy and the foundations of socialist democracy on sovkhozes have developed successfully and socialist discipline and organization at all levels have strengthened.

Precisely 14,697 kolkhoz members and rural working people have been elected to the supreme, oblast and local soviets and 1,250 kolkhoz members have been elected to the Central Committee and obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms.

They are all carrying out great political and organizational work. The heights scaled in the agricultural sphere during the 10th 5-Year Plan are primarily the victory of the glorious kolkhoz peasantry, the rural working class and specialists.

Allow me to wholeheartedly thank them from the congress rostrum and to wish them new successes in the 11th 5-Year Plan. Honor and glory to the kolkhoz peasantry and all the countryside's heroic working people!

The party has always attached great importance to work with the intelligentsia; however, this work has entered a qualitatively new phase now. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, UNLESS THEY WANT TO LAG BEHIND LIFE, MUST IMPROVE THEIR FORMS AND METHODS OF WORK WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND DISPLAY A DIFFERENTIATED APPROACH TOWARD IT.

Science and scientific and technical progress are developing swiftly in the era of mature socialism and this in its turn is leading to the quantitative and qualitative growth of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, whose nucleus is constituted by academicians, corresponding members, doctors and candidates of sciences, professors and lecturers. THEY ARE THE CREAM OF OUR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA. The intelligentsia must be respected and cherished and the optimum conditions for its labor and creative work must be produced.

One renowned detachment of the people's intelligentsia is the artistic intelligentsia, which will be discussed later.

A huge detachment of our intelligentsia--teachers, doctors, engineers, designers and so forth--is people engaged in intellectual labor in the most diverse spheres of communist building. They must be surrounded with care and attention.

We must show special concern for the RURAL INTELLIGENTSIA. This is a considerable detachment of people who, in conjunction with the rural working class and the kolkhoz peasantry, decide the fate of not only the party's agrarian policy but also the education of a person taking the most active part in creating the material and technical base of communism and in improving production relations.

THE YOUNG URBAN AND RURAL INTELLIGENTSIA are an object of special concern from party organizations. They are the future of our intellectual life. We must work with them with due regard for their specific features and take an active part in molding their world outlook and value orientation.

The further improvement of the science and art of the leadership of social processes, of the development of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia and of the formation of a socially homogeneous society and new historic community of people--the Soviet people--is one of the main tasks of the Georgian CP and of all detachments of the CPSU.

V. The Tasks of the Further Ideological and Organizational Strengthening of the Georgian CP, a Militant Detachment of the CPSU, and the Strengthening of its Leading Role in Communist Building in the Republic

1. Improving Ideological and Political Educational Work in the Light of the Demands of the Era of Developed Socialism

Comrades!

It is common knowledge just what great importance V. I. Lenin, founder of our party and state, attached to the party's ideological work. This importance is now increasing immeasurably.

Our party's Leninist Central Committee, the Politburo, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and our whole party are making a tremendous contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism and to the theory and practice of communist building in conformity with the stage of mature socialism.

The period between the congresses has been characterized by vigorous and purposeful ideological activity by the Georgian CP.

Throughout this period the republic's communists have lived and worked in a fullblooded, intense but not simple ideological and political atmosphere marked by a creative quest for the correct assessments of phenomena and events, by a Leninist approach toward them, by the learning of lessons and by the determining of prospects.

The positive side of these processes is certainly represented by the preparation and adoption of documents generalizing our work in the sphere of shaping labor collectives, the practical aspects of the dialectic between the national and the international during the era of mature socialism and of the further improvement of production and social relationships at local level, the problems of management and of the development of socialist and intraparty democracy and the masses' organization, discipline and activeness, and questions of culture, the science of man and the overcoming of survivals of the past in people's consciousness.

THE REPUBLIC'S SOCIOECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS CANNOT BE VIEWED IN ISOLATION FROM THEIR ORGANIC CONNECTION WITH OUR STRUGGLE FOR MAN, FOR THE ASSERTION OF LOFTY MORAL AND POLITICAL IDEALS, THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S TRUE SPIRITUAL VALUES AND THE NORMS OF THE SOVIET WAY OF LIFE. WE HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH IN THIS SPHERE: THERE HAS BEEN A DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY AND STATE LIFE; AN INCREASE IN THE DEGREE OF INFORMATION OF THE MASSES; AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE FORMS AND METHODS OF PROPAGANDA AND MASS AGITATION WORK; THE ACTIVATION OF WORKING PEOPLE'S PUBLIC OPINION.

Well aware of the volume and complexity of the tasks which the Georgian party organization has to resolve in the eighties, particularly the ideological tasks stemming from the CPSU Central Committee's program document "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work," we can say that we are prepared both politically and morally to successfully implement all the guidelines which the party puts forward at its 26th congress!

Today, analyzing what has been achieved in ideological work since 1972, we see how varied has been the process of improving our ideological activity; whereas at the first stage, in the first half of the seventies, we channeled our efforts above all into eradicating antipodal psychological tendencies in people's consciousness and, consequently, also in their behavior, after the 25th congress we began focusing attention on creative aspects in the molding of the individual and on fostering an active life stance and Marxist-Leninist outlook convictions in every individual. This does not mean that at the new stage we underrate the struggle against negative phenomena. No, the intensity of the struggle will grow. All this attests to real qualitative changes in ideological work and indicates that we have reached our congress today by resolving more complex tasks not only in the socioeconomic sphere but also the spiritual sphere.

The implementation of the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolutions on our republic has resulted in appreciable positive changes--an improved morale and stronger faith in our principles among people. Since the 25th Georgian CP Congress the positive changes in the life of the republic have become irreversible and radical: We are overcoming such widespread "sores" as protectionism, formalism, careerism, harmful traditions, nationalist and chauvinist prejudices, private-ownership tendencies, bribery and red tape. Comprehensive resolutions have been adopted on these problems, scientifically substantiated recommendations have been formulated and painstaking work is being done to fulfill them.

Yes, much has changed. The results of a recent sociological investigation are interesting: 74 percent of the people polled, who recognize the positive role of ideological work in these changes, primarily named ENHANCED EFFECTIVENESS, IMPROVED METHODS AND FORMS OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WORK, BROADER INVOLVEMENT OF WORKING PEOPLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF STATE AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, STUDY OF AND REGARD FOR PUBLIC OPINION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM.

Central Committee plenums have emphasized that democratism as the fundamental principle of the work of party organizations is connected with the Leninist methodological bases of all ideological work--party-mindedness, scientificness, veracity and its indissoluble link with life, without which there can be no question of its effectiveness.

The entire activity of the republic's party organization has helped to resolve ideological tasks in the main avenue of the working people's communist education, with determining significance attached to such fundamental party documents as the 25th CPSU Congress decisions, the works and speeches of L.I. Brezhnev and the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work." Reliable assistance was provided by the guidelines and recommendations of the all-union conference of ideological workers held in October 1979.

I should dwell especially on the aforementioned resolution. It will certainly fulfill the role of a landmark party document. Modern life and the everyday practice of party organizations needed the legitimization in the party context of the urgent innovations contained in the resolution both in the sense of the forms and means of ideological influence and in the sphere of methods.

The extent to which the effectiveness and quality of educational work are enhanced will depend on how skillfully and intelligently our ideological institutions utilize the key of the comprehensive approach to it suggested by the party.

In this we have a right, above all, to seek an explanation for the desirable trends which have recently become apparent, for example, in such an important characteristic of people's ideological maturity as their ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR.

The Central Committee reports to the congress, not without pride in the republic and its people, that the period under review was marked by the mass labor heroism of people aware of their high civic duty to the people and the party and to the present and future generations--people who are motivated by their world-outlook and moral postulates and who have found moral ennoblement in labor.

Inertia, indifference, sham diligence--everything that turns man into a robot and an appendage to a tool of production--are retreating. A wave of enthusiasm, creativity and meaningful selflessness is approaching, as is the triumph of a phenomenon peculiar to man alone, which is called CONSCIENCE, a priceless acquisition which works wonders in terms of its significance and in conjunction with scientific and technical progress.

Not to lose it but to augment it and justly make its results the property of all of society and thereby stimulate its universality and ubiquitousness--this is the political, ideological and educational task both of the 11th 5-Year Plan and of subsequent 5-year plans.

Reliance on man and regard for all his potential as predetermined by his awareness of his democratic rights, freedoms and duties constituted the determining line in the activities of Georgia's party organizations, as well as of the entire party, throughout the intercongress period.

This approach is the logical result of the consistent implementation by our party and its Central Committee of the historic decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October (1964) Plenum and of the CPSU congresses, which were of fundamental significance in formulating the political course under conditions of developed socialism. Our work today is dominated by the emphasis on fostering high consciousness and ideological convictions in people, on the basis of appealing to the logic of scientific arguments, comradely mutual assistance, friendly advice, respect for others' opinions, support, initiative and other truly democratic means and methods of resolving problems and exposing and overcoming existing contradictions and the difficulties which arise.

From this viewpoint, it is to be supposed, definite interest and attention are merited by the practice which has recently become established here of holding a united political day, when members of the Central Committee and leaders of all ranks meet with people, address them and they themselves have an opportunity to respond promptly to criticism and suggestions.

We think that the method of having Bureau and Central Committee members and apparatus workers conduct political circles, political schools and seminars has also justified itself. Not only programmatic study questions but also the burning problems of life are examined at a good level of competence and informedness during the lessons; opinions are exchanged and, it may boldly be said, there are even being created for the first time in the reality of our republic PRECEDENTS FOR A PUBLIC BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSION BETWEEN STUDENTS AND LEADERS OF THE REPUBLIC AND OF THE OBLASTS, CITIES AND RAYONS.

Truly party-minded concern for the working person and a most serious, material attitude toward ideological education tasks on the part of the party committee and leadership of enterprises are the basis of the labor successes of the collective of the Tbilisi Dimitrov Aviation Plant (Director V. Tordiya, party committee Secretary V. Lomadze). Here comprehensive ideological work plans are closely coordinated with the chief tasks of the enterprise's social development.

On the other hand, the inability to conduct ideological work competently, and deviations from the Leninist methodological principle of its indissoluble connection with life and with the practical tasks of education essentially ended up wrecking the work of the Zestafonskiy Raykom (former raykom Secretary B. Merkviladze). The party committee and certain primary party organizations in the rayon virtually neglected political education work and tolerated mismanagement, laxity and violations of labor and social discipline. The raykom bypassed acute problems, ignored shortcomings and difficulties and did not show proper concern for improving working and living conditions. The rayon's new leadership has enhanced exactingness, tackled work with people concretely and in real earnest and shows proper concern for them.

Political knowledge, a healthy psychological climate and other components of ideological work have been elaborated by the party in order to inculcate people with the features and habits of the socialist way of life. The republic's ideological services must do a lot of work to determine the model of our way of life and to reveal its structural elements.

The way of life is interconnected with man's way of thinking, with the motives of his behavior, with his stance with regard to labor and sociopolitical activities, to material wealth and spiritual values and so forth. We must do a lot of work to ensure that there are no substantial discrepancies between the model and citizens' real way of life. This indicator, this denominator is very important in the process of further improving social morale.

We must strive not for a temporary, on-off rise in the curve of the scale of moods, or even for periodic changes, but for steadiness and stability. And this, in turn, can be achieved if, WHILE PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE POSITIVE ASPECTS, EVALUATING THEM AT THEIR TRUE WORTH AND GENERALIZING THEM, WE DO NOT CEASE EXPOSING EVERYTHING NEGATIVE AND, HAVING SHED LIGHT ON THE REASONS FOR IT, DO NOT HALT OR RELAX THE UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM.

There can be no complacency here!

The party and life require us always to bear in mind in all practical ideological actions the qualitative raising of the standard of people's general educational and vocational training and the growth of their political and ethical-aesthetic culture--which pre-determines an increase in man's conscious and active role in his struggle against all kinds of negative trends and phenomena. Therefore the approach to it today must be different from what it was yesterday.

We were once again convinced of the correctness of this point quite recently when we studied the practice of propaganda of the party's ideas through such an important channel as the Tsodna (Znaniye) Society. It was discovered that it is concerned, above all, with quantitative, formal indicators. Instead of well-reasoned, committed propaganda we encountered an ostentatious ballyhoo and estrangement from life. It seemed that life at large ran along one course, while life at Tsodna ran its own course.

Our mistakes and shortcomings in ideological work stem chiefly from a lack of understanding on the part of many propagandists, lecturers, social scientists and those at the grassroots of ideological orientation of the following reality: It is self-deception and political thoughtlessness to approach the mind and heart of our contemporary with a bald slogan, just good intentions or fervent appeals alone, or to make advances to him and cultivate diplomacy, fearing that you will be misunderstood, or to approach him presupposing your own superiority, no matter what sort: official, intellectual or other superiority.

IT IS NECESSARY NOW TO APPROACH THE PEOPLE WITH AN OPEN HEART, SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS AND TO CONDUCT A DIALOGUE OR CONVERSATION WITH THEM ON EQUAL TERMS.

Both the creative assimilation of the scientific content of Marxism-Leninism and the scientific approach to questions being resolved on the basis of a concrete analysis of a concrete situation are characteristic of the activities of Tbilisi Gorkom and of many of the capital's rayon party organizations. The practice has become established of giving working people advance notice of the agenda of plenums and party and economic aktiv meetings and of constantly studying the morale within labor collectives and city districts and public opinion among different groups of the population.

The activities of the party organization of the Kutaisi motor vehicle plant also serve as an example of a scientific approach to the matter of education.

You all know about the Abashskiy experiment. Now this is no longer an experiment but experience. A bold, clever, scientifically substantiated step has been taken. This experience is a weighty argument against the dogmatic way of thinking and the stereotyped approach to everything new and to the acute problems which life poses and which can no longer be resolved using conventional methods. Is there anything that has not been said about the Abashskiy experiment, and are there any sins which have not been imputed to people who attempted to cast aside routine, unfit management schemes?

In this case, too, the question suggests itself: When did K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin say that a working person's material interest and concern in giving society more and himself earning more from what has been created by honest labor within the framework of the socialist mechanism of production and distribution contradict socialism? We have encountered just the opposite in the founders of our teaching, and whoever does not fully understand this does not know the ABC's of Marxism-Leninism.

It is another matter that we should take account of the negative consequences which might arise in the process of the growth of material well-being and constantly carry out ideological education work to prevent a shift toward consumerism and the acquisition of status symbols.

At the 25th Georgian CP Congress we rebuked social scientists for the fact that the majority of works by specialists are estranged from the practical tasks of communist building, from the tasks of the republic's political, economic, social and cultural development and from the processes occurring in our republic. Even though changes for the better undoubtedly occurred in this sphere too during the period under review, nevertheless many social scientists are still oriented toward elaborating nontopical themes, and their works lack an attempt to analyze, generalize and comprehensively study all aspects of the Georgian CP's present-day activities and the profound and complex processes which are occurring in the economic and socio-political life of the republic.

Effective measures were taken during the period under review to improve the entire system of Marxist-Leninist studies, to raise the theoretical and methodical standard of propagandist cadres and to involve in these studies the maximum number of communists and Komsomol members and a broad nonparty aktiv.

It is the task of party organizations to show constant and unswerving concern for improving and developing these studies and to eradicate the shortcomings which still exist in its organization.

I would also like to discuss the economic studies of cadres, which, particularly in the light of the measures being taken to improve the economic machinery, must give real practical returns. Every student having completed a course of economic studies must introduce something new and concrete into the work of the sector of the enterprise or the unit in which he works.

Comrades!

All these years our party organization's activities in the sphere of implementing the nationalities policy and further deepening and strengthening internationalist awareness have constituted one of the most important targeted principles of our ideological work.

A big boost was given to the further activation of work in this direction by the all-union scientific practice conference held in Tbilisi in 1976. As life has shown, heightened attention toward this problem has been of great benefit to us and prepared the way for us to find the correct solution to a number of complex questions and to take a new approach to them, and democratic methods and means have opened up the possibility of our coping successfully with many unexpected situations.

Even in the society of mature socialism, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has pointed out, national relations are a reality which constantly poses new problems and, thus, demand appropriate means of resolving them. Our experience confirms this. As you know we have encountered a whole series of problems of this sort in recent years. The congress delegates know what I am talking about--we have discussed various aspects of this problem thoroughly at Central Committee plenums and party aktiv meetings and, finally, we discussed them in a frank and principled manner at the Gagra party aktiv meeting.

Naturally, we do not have the right to deviate even slightly from the principle of the class nature of international education. We resolutely reject the nonclass, objectivist approach to evaluating the historical past and will allow no one to encroach upon one of our very greatest achievements--the fraternity and friendship of the peoples.

The great concern and attention with which the party treats questions of the development of the economy and culture of the union republics and the autonomous formations and the problems and needs of people of all nationalities help in many ways to activate work on the international patriotic education of the masses and to deepen its content and enhance its effectiveness. The 11th plenum decisions and the Georgian CP Central Committee resolutions adopted in recent years contain a comprehensive program to further develop national relations on the basis of fraternity and equality, to strengthen the Leninist friendship of the peoples and to eradicate all nationalist and chauvinist manifestations.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY IS THE FOUNDATION, THE CORNER-STONE OF THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE MASSES.

INTERNATIONALISM IS DEVELOPED AND ASSERTED ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS OF FULL MUTUAL TRUST AMONG PEOPLES.

The task consists in ensuring that party organizations are true organizers and collective fighters for the implementation of the party's nationalities policy and strengthen the Leninist friendship and fraternity of the peoples in every possible way on this basis.

All our measures must serve this great aim. We await interesting and useful work from the council which has been newly set up under the Central Committee to coordinate work on the further development of international ties and the working people's international education. In this connection great opportunities are being opened up by the preparations for the 60th anniversary of Soviet Georgia, its Communist Party and our autonomous formations and by the celebration of these historic dates, which ushered in the age of the true revival and flowering of our region. The same view should also be taken of the significance of the upcoming 200th anniversary of the signing of the Georgian treaty--an act which sealed the bonds of friendship and unity between the Russian and Georgian peoples.

Georgia's communists consider the great friendship and indissoluble fraternity of all the peoples of the Soviet Union the life-giving source of all their successes.

The Armenian CP Congress opened today, and that of Azerbaijan will open in a week's time.

We greet the fraternal union republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan--true to the rich and ancient traditions of good neighborliness and friendship among the peoples of the Transcaucasus.

We express profound gratitude to all the equal brother-peoples of the united socialist family--the Soviet Union.

Permit me, on behalf of our congress, to address words of warm greetings to the communists and all working people of Russia and to the great Russian people, who are the backbone and foundation of this nation.

And, expressing our gratitude for daily assistance to our republic, the republic party organization, the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally, it is not merely for the sake of the epithet that we call all the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on our republic historic. They all amaze us and delight us with their very subtle scientific analysis and profound knowledge of Georgia's specific problems and conditions and their consideration of local capabilities and interests. What is this if not an expression of the party's most specific--material, moral and most thoughtful and fruitful--concern for the development of our national assets and our present and future!

Comrades!

The 25th Georgian CP Congress, in defining the next tasks of the republic newspapers, journals, television and radio and of the publishing houses formulated the demand that a high performance be achieved in the struggle to fulfill the national economic plans and improve the morale in the republic.

Describing the mass information media at the 25th Georgian CP Congress, the Central Committee rated highly their role in purifying the moral atmosphere in the republic. This congress must record the fact that the press, television and radio are doing a lot to assert and develop a healthy morale.

Note should be made of the creative quest undertaken in this direction by the newspapers KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, which set the tone for the republic's entire press. The experience accumulated by GRUZINFORM, the newspapers SOPLIS TSKHOVREBA, SOVETAKAN VRASTAN and SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY and the youth newspapers merits positive assessment.

At the same time elements of haste, superficiality, lack of control [stikhiynost], inconsistency and sometimes even lack of objectivity have not been eradicated from the work of the republic's mass media, which is affecting the standard of interpretation of vitally important problems and social processes.

The effectiveness of ideological influence depends primarily on those who organize this process. A high degree of competence is required today at the leading echelon of the mass information organs. Thus, the leading theoretical and political journal SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI, which is designed to be our ideological bulwark, has essentially divorced itself from the most important problems facing the party organization. As the delegates know, in the period under review the leadership of the newspaper KOMUNISTI, GRUZINFORM, the journal SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI and other press organs was reinforced.

Press, television and radio workers, all our journalists and each one individually should remember that the successful implementation of the party's demand--to make every newspaper, book and television broadcast an effective means of the masses' political organization and of the shaping of social awareness--depends on their personal contribution and personal participation and interest.

I want to take this opportunity to thank on behalf of the congress the editorial offices of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and other central newspapers and of the journals KOMMUNIST and PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting for their great attention to the republic.

Comrades!

The ideological impact and ideological function of literature and art have increased markedly. A process of the integration and interpenetration of the educational values of the strictly party, ideological phenomenon on the one hand and of literature and art on the other is taking place in the molding of our contemporary's world outlook, aesthetic taste and entire spiritual world.

The life and activity of V.I. Lenin provide us with classic examples of a party attitude toward literature and art and the problems of cultural building.

The fact that in our day Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has turned to the literary genre and written a wonderful trilogy which has been awarded a Lenin Prize attests to how highly the party values the role of literature and art.

At the 25th congress we said that in the recent past man's soul had suffered more than the economy. It was on this premise that was determined the role of literature and art in the struggle to educate man.

Since the decision on the Tbilisi Gorkom the leadership of culture has traversed definite stages in its development. In the pre-25th party congress period the cultural sphere began to be restructured anew, taking into account the changes in the republic, and IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW THE TANGIBLE INTEGRATION OF CULTURAL FIGURES' POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC VALUE ORIENTATION AND THE MERGING OF THEIR TARGETED POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC GOALS PROCEEDED SUCCESSFULLY.

Soviet Georgia's culture--national in form and socialist in content--the literature and art of the Georgian people and the autonomous formations, the culture of the Abkhazian and Ossetian peoples and of all peoples inhabiting our republic developed successfully in the seventies.

In Soviet Georgia there are over 10,000 members of the unions of writers, artists, composers, architects, moviemakers and journalists, the theatrical, musical and choreographic societies and so forth. This is a whole army of talents. It is our enormous possession. And each of them represents a whole world.

Regular business meetings between leaders of the republic's Communist Party and the creative intelligentsia have become a good tradition. And that is understandable, for the creation of spiritual values confronts us with the same urgency as the creation of material ones. We rejoice just as sincerely and wholeheartedly in the birth of new novels, poems, symphonies, movies, paintings and sculptures as we do at the erection of the Inguri GES, the creation of a new modern aircraft or the appearance of a new city on the map of the republic.

The force of the ideological impact of spiritual values on man is inexhaustible. What lectures, reports, debates or symposiums can substitute for the ideological impact of, for instance, the cinematic image of Georgiy Toreli, a party raykom secretary of the new type?! Or the well-known poem on communists which has become truly the poem of the whole people?! Or the eternal law of moral existence discovered by the communist Bachana Ramishvili?! It is not a case of contrasting the means of influencing people's minds and hearts in the party propaganda system and in the sphere of art. Propaganda provides great opportunities for bringing ideas directly to the masses, while art is able to make the same ideas the long-lived possession of the masses through artistic images with a positive emotional charge.

A notable feature of the republic's cultural life from congress to congress is the emergence not only of new heroes of artistic works but of hero-writers. For the first time a Lenin Prize for literature and art was awarded to a Georgian novel. This year for the first time works by masters of literature and art have been awarded the Georgian SSR State Prize--"Chronicle of the 5-Year Plan." THE INSTITUTION AND AWARD OF THIS PRIZE ATTEST TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE LINK BETWEEN LITERATURE AND ART AND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. I think it is right that the poet Iosif Noneshvili should have been nominated for the republic's state prize. He is dead, but it is as though he were with us--one of the most active participants in the glorious deeds of the 10th 5-Year Plan--and it is as though we can hear his voice--the voice of a patriot and internationalist--from this high forum.

The heroes of the best works march over the land with us. And the heroes of the seventies raised by this land, the communists and Komsomol members, the pioneers of bold experiments, the shepherds and the engineers, burst into the sphere of major art as literature's heroes.

With the incredible growth of the role and significance of literature and art in the life of society the materialization of spiritual values through man has acquired a different force and dimension.

We speak of the growth of the direct creative force of spiritual values in the era of mature socialism. THE INTEGRATION OF THE DIRECT PRODUCTIVE FORCE OF SCIENCE AND THE DIRECT CREATIVE FORCE OF LITERATURE AND ART AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE DIALECTIC OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES seems highly alluring. The fusion of the creative force of, for instance, the art of architecture with the direct productive force of science in the construction industry works miracles. [paragraph continues]

The same may be said of the integration of aesthetic values and production and many other processes. This optimum integration of spiritual and material values is our most important practical task.

As a rule party workers do not write poems, symphonies or novels--not because we do not want to but simply because we cannot do it--it is not given to everyone to create artistic values; but much depends on them--they create the atmosphere for creative work. THE CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE GIVING ALL-AROUND ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE EMERGENCE OF WORKS OF HIGH IDEOLOGICAL AND ARTISTIC CONTENT IS ONE OF THE MAJOR GAINS OF THE GEORGIAN CP IN RECENT YEARS.

The party workers must realize that the artist's heart, the mind and soul of the creator, are surprisingly rich phenomena, unique but very sensitive, delicate and sometimes even fragile. Obviously, nowhere else is the party worker required to have such knowledge of psychology, particularly the psychology of creation and the creative nature, as when dealing with the personalities of literature and art, and with the intelligentsia as a whole. It is very important to note an artist's success promptly, to help him in failure, to explain the party's position to him patiently and benevolently. Nowhere do a disdainful, arrogant tone and communist conceit [komchvanstvo] cause us such harm as they do in relations with figures from the world of culture.

ONE OF THE GEORGIAN CP'S ACHIEVEMENTS MUST BE THE OVERCOMING BY PARTY AND IDEOLOGICAL WORKERS OF PRIMITISM AND SUPERFICIALITY in the leadership of culture and of a certain remoteness and alienation from the figures of literature and art, and their bold penetration into the complex, deep-seated processes of creation.

It is precisely such an atmosphere which promotes the birth of truly talented, innovative works of literature and art.

We welcome the Georgian art of the seventies--the innovation of our theater which knows how to read the classics through contemporary eyes, the moviemakers whose work is increasingly winning all-union and international awards and prizes, the artists and composers who recreate in color and sound the heroic nature of the time and people. We greet all those who gladden the present and who, through their creative work, look to the future!

In the seventies new creative collectives, newspapers and journals were established; new theaters opened; symphony orchestras, ensembles and artist collectives were created; festivals, contests, tours and exhibitions of literature and art became a good tradition.

New forms such as the activity of the Georgian writers union's artistic translation collegium, the Druzhba Theater, the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences' museum of the peoples' friendship and the organization of mass folk art performances have organically and effectively entered the work of our creative organizations for the working people's international and patriotic education. Party attention to problems of the further development of amateur artistic activity has intensified.

However, there are still many concerns and desires alongside the successes!

We expect an improvement in the work of the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Cinematography and our other cultural departments and institutions and creative unions and societies. We expect more active work in this respect from our literary publications, journals and almanacs.

Literary criticism, artistic criticism as a whole and the theory of socialist art must be developed in every way.

We demand a scrupulous and uncompromising attitude toward the assessment of any manifestations of lack of ideological content, triteness, provincialism and bourgeois philistinism, and manifestations of elements of nationalism or chauvinism, and we demand purposeful, persistent, daily work with artists and their education in a spirit of profound ideological conviction and the lofty principles of socialist realism. It is necessary to combat negative manifestations in the cultural sphere with party principledness.

The party leader who is concerned only with creating material values is doing only half his job. Mines, plants, factories, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, farmsteads, plantations, construction sites--they are not yet communism. Communism must be built in people's hearts and minds. And this cannot be achieved without the aid of spiritual values--literature, art, science and culture as a whole.

Comrades!

THE RADICAL CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD PROTECTING THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF CULTURE MUST BE REGARDED AS A CHARACTERISTIC PHENOMENON OF THE SEVENTIES.

A particularly large amount has been done in recent years on the organizational and practical plane. It is enough to recall the series of important Georgian CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolutions on improving the protection of cultural monuments in the republic.

We must firmly know that every monument is a part of our present-day life, a living social organism, not dead capital. Monuments must not only be preserved as museum pieces but also adapted and included in our daily life.

Proceeding from the above, I think it is now time to tackle the question OF TURNING THE REPUBLIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE'S MAIN SCIENTIFIC AND PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION FOR THE CONSERVATION AND UTILIZATION OF THE MONUMENTS OF HISTORY, CULTURE AND NATURE INTO AN ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE GEORGIAN SSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, EXPANDING ITS RIGHTS AND CAPABILITIES.

Our main task is to enhance the role of all the components of culture in communist building!

The system of the Georgian State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade is a very important ideological unit and, I would say, political institution. Positive shifts have emerged here, and many good books and fundamental works are being published.

However, the state of book-publishing policy in the republic requires further improvement. Unfortunately not every worker in the system of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade is aware that he is a political worker and the propagandist of party ideas.

In comprehensively resolving ideological problems we have sought out new methods and forms of work designed to enhance the competence of the republic's party organizations and the effectiveness of all the educational measures they are taking.

The sociology of party work, and in particular a very important aspect of this work represented by the study of public opinion, has been developed in our republic. The creation of a public opinion council under the Central Committee and the practical consideration of its recommendations is a significant element in our entire ideological life.

As for the popularization of new socialist customs and rituals, we cannot omit the remarkable initiative of many party committees WHICH HAVE COUNTERED THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS WITH MODERN ONES FILLED WITH NEW CONTENT AND MEANING. [paragraph continues]

The Tbilisob mass holiday of friendship and brotherhood has been held just twice in our republic, but it has been carefully prepared and conceived and the effect has been so great that I would not be wrong in saying that it is now probably hard to find a citizen of Tbilisi who could imagine a Tbilisi autumn without the Tbilisob. There are now many such holidays.

The formation of a harmoniously developed individual today requires the more effective utilization of mass forms of work with people such as the activity of cultural enlightenment institutions and sports. At the same time we still have to say that the quality and ideological standard of the work of some cultural enlightenment institutions still lags considerably behind current requirements.

We are still under the impression of that great festival of youth, health and beauty--the 22d Moscow Olympics.

It is pleasing that our republic's sportsmen also made a contribution to the Soviet Olympic athletes' successful performance. However, we cannot remain silent about the fact that the standard and mass nature of the development of physical culture and sport in the republic still do not satisfy us. Evidently, the activity of the sports committee and the work of local sports organizations and societies are in need of serious restructuring in this respect. Indeed the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs must concern themselves in earnest with questions of the physical training of the rising generation.

This is a matter of state importance.

In implementing the entire complex of political education work it is essential to intensify the role of the Central Committee's ideological sections. Unfortunately, not all sections meet the demands made on them. We sincerely regret that Comrade A.D. Aleksidze, an undoubtedly well-educated and honest man, is not coping with his work at all. He must be helped to find himself other employment.

You know that the Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department is now headed by Comrade Zh.K. Shartava. With his arrival at the section much must change in the light of our congress' requirements.

Comrades!

At the 24th CPSU Congress L.I. Brezhnev spoke of the socialist way of life as socialism's most significant gain. He put forward as the most important social goal the creation of the most favorable possible conditions for its further assertion.

To implement this goal successfully it is essential to take resolute steps to surmount antisocial negative phenomena, including and primarily private-ownership tendencies. The significance we attach to the struggle against private-ownership tendencies is borne out by the fact that we have put the problem on the agenda of one of our congress working groups.

Despite our uncompromising struggle against this evil, relapses into it are still making themselves felt. Let us recall the truly tragic story of the degeneration of Kobakhidze, former chairman of Tbilisi's imeni 26 Komissarov Rayispolkom, and other workers. The evil proved to be tenacious. Very recently an impartial talk took place at the Bureau about machinations in the Samtrest system and the responsibility of the minister and other workers.

In combating private-ownership and other negative tendencies we are seeking to save people from terrible consequences: from the destruction of the personality, misfortunes and shame. It is perfectly understandable that we communists, by virtue of our human, civic and--even more so--party duty, have no right to stand aloof when a family--the social cell of society--disintegrates, or when the republic and the entire country suffers tangible material, moral and political damage.

The resolute steps undertaken by the Georgian communists to improve the situation in the republic have produced results, but the struggle against antisocial phenomena is far from ended.

The effectiveness of the struggle against negative phenomena and the success of ideological work will grow if all ideological and political work is integrated with the educational functions of all state organs and the educational functions of the socialist socioeconomic formation's entire superstructure.

Agitation and propaganda and the activity of all ideological institutions on the one hand and of state and law-preservation organs on the other must be balanced and coordinated in such a way that the one supplements the other.

Present-day tasks stemming from the new Constitution have made even higher demands on court, prosecutor's office, state security and internal affairs workers, on all those who stand guard over socialist law and order.

Under the leadership of the republic's party organization, social, political and legal guarantees for safeguarding citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms have been developed and strengthened in the period under review.

Social experience of the work of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and public organizations in preventing and combating violations of the law has been enriched.

The style and methods of party leadership over and monitoring of the status of law and order have been improved.

The situation in the republic has improved considerably.

At the same time, by using all the necessary means of education, persuasion and public influence on lawbreakers the party organs resolutely opposed political shortsightedness, conciliatoriness, leniency and blunted vigilance with respect to malicious antisocial elements, bribetakers, embezzlers of the people's property, thieves and other social scum poisoning the healthy atmosphere of our society and sometimes inflicting on the common cause political and moral harm which is hard to make up.

In waging the struggle against violations of the law the question of class, political vigilance has been and remains the focus of the Central Committee's attention.

The leading personnel of the prosecutor's office, court and militia organs has been qualitatively renewed. Politically mature cadres have been assigned to the crucial sectors of work.

There has been an increase in the effectiveness of party influence on the moral and political state and official activity of communists and workers in the militia, prosecutor's office, court and institutions of justice.

The principled and dominant basis in improving work to preserve law and order and step up the struggle against violations of the law was the CPSU Central Committee resolution on this issue--a programmatic resolution for the party committees. The creation under the Georgian CP Central Committee of a working group to fulfill this resolution has played a substantial part in galvanizing the activity of the party and law-preservation organs. This group, headed by Comrade G.V. Kolbin, second secretary of the Central Committee, coordinates the activity of the commissions to strengthen discipline and combat negative phenomena which are now functioning under all the republic's party committees, ministries and departments. A harmonious system has thus been created for implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution.

All this could not fail to affect the results of the practical activity of the administrative organs, which are ensuring a definite trend toward a reduction in crime and in individual dangerous manifestations of crime.

The state security organs which, as you know, are headed in our republic by Comrade A.N. Inauri, the Bureau's most experienced member and a man who is greatly respected in the republic, perform difficult but honorable and crucial work. They are worthily continuing the glorious traditions of Dzerzhinskiy's Chekists in safeguarding the gains of Great October and ensuring the Soviet state's reliable security.

However, as a whole the effectiveness of the work of the administrative organs and the tempo and intensity of the struggle against antisocial phenomena still do not always accord with present-day requirements.

A formal bureaucratic, unconscientious attitude toward their official duties on the part of some responsible and other workers in the militia, court and prosecutor's office has still not been fully eradicated. The level of their qualifications is inadequate. The shortcomings in the work of the court and investigating organs have an adverse effect on the effectiveness of the struggle against crime in the republic.

The law-preservation organs must continue to be convinced bearers of the party's policy and to display profound political principledness and class vigilance.

Today, when the reactionary forces of imperialism are fueling tension, seeking at any price to put an end to detente, and when the international situation is characterized by the working people's keen struggle for peace, we must pay paramount attention to strengthening the country's military power and defense capability.

The party organization and committees which know how to penetrate deeply and comprehensively to the core of internal social phenomena must know how to react rapidly and effectively to the changes in the international situation as well, not forgetting that the Georgian SSR is a border republic.

Our glorious servicemen in the Red Banner Transcaucasus military and border districts are serving vigilantly and selflessly, reliably safeguarding our motherland's southern borders.

The strengthening and developing ties of military and cultural patronage between the servicemen and the republic's labor collectives continue the longstanding and wonderful tradition of the union of army and people. The working people's military-patriotic education is improving. Perfecting it and performing it with a view to strengthening the awareness and self-discipline of every inhabitant, PREFARING YOUNG PEOPLE FULLY-- BOTH SPIRITUALLY AND PHYSICALLY--FOR SERVICE IN THE ARMY, teaching them the Russian language and applied military specialties--in brief, preparing them to fulfill their civic, patriotic and international duty--such is the urgent, topical task of the party, state and public organizations.

We are grateful to the army and navy servicemen for the inestimable contribution they are making to the republic's affairs.

Many military comrades elected to the Georgian CP Party committees, fulfilling with great responsibility their functions as representatives of elective organs, are working with military precision and with enthusiasm. This is not only a tested means of consolidating mutual contacts, it is also a wonderful form of mutual enrichment.

The delegates know that Comrade O.F. Kulishev, commander of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District, is a member of the Central Committee Bureau. A respected man deeply committed to the party, he is an active component of the Central Committee Bureau.

I must note that the attention which Generals A.I. Shirinkin, V.V. Saltykov and V.K. Kirilyuk, our Border Guards N.I. Makarov and M.F. Cheredilov and many others pay to the republic's party and public life.

Our congress cordially greets the military delegates and, through them, the armed forces of the land of the soviets and, on the threshold of the glorious 60th anniversary of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District, wishes the Transcaucasian servicemen excellent service and combat training.

2. Improving the Party Leadership of the Soviets, Trade Unions and All State and Public Organizations

Comrades!

In the period under review the Georgian CP Central Committee paid constant attention to questions of improving the style of the party leadership of state and public organizations and enhancing their role, authority and autonomy in implementing the functions invested in them.

The adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the Georgian SSR Constitution and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium laid the foundation for a qualitatively new stage in the work of the soviets of all echelons. The soviets have markedly galvanized their activity, improved mass organizational work to implement the plans of economic and sociocultural building and have begun to pay more attention to questions of improving services to the population and the provision of amenities in cities and villages.

Democratic principles have been further developed, sessional activity has been improved, the deputies' links with the voters have been strengthened and work to implement their mandates is proceeding more precisely. Ispolkom accountability to the soviets and the population has become a regular thing. The activity of the standing commissions has been invigorated.

At the same time the standard of many soviets' work lags behind the requirements of life. They are only feebly implementing the rights and monitoring functions invested in them by the law and they are failing to carry out their duties in full. The soviets' role in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of their territory, seeking out untapped reserves and improving the efficiency and quality of the work of all enterprises and organizations on their territory is still inadequate.

There are still many instances of a callous attitude toward people's needs and a formal bureaucratic approach to matters in the Soviet organs' activity. Formalism and oversimplification and sometimes even disregard for the principles of democratism and publicity are allowed to occur in work with deputies and among the population.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium must constantly seek to enhance the role of the representative organs of power in resolving questions of state, economic and cultural building and must study in greater depth and disseminate the positive experience of their mass organizational work.

Comrade P.G. Gilashvili, member of the Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, has great experience in party and soviet work behind him and is known as a man with good qualities as a communist and citizen who has done much to enhance the authority of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

It is essential that he look more deeply into the activity of the local soviets, particularly the rayon and city soviets, be more active in preparing and submitting proposals for the education of soviet workers of all ranks in a spirit of the unity of word and deed, principledness and frankness, and that he promote the assertion of the principles of party-mindedness, specificity and businesslike efficiency in the work of the soviets from top to bottom. Some delegates know that in Kvarelskiy and Khashurskiy Rayons and some other places there have still been instances of the underestimation of party leadership by rayispolkom chairmen. He and the other leading comrades and local party leaders must oppose such anomalies even more persistently.

Speaking of democratism, we must not forget the soviets of the residential districts within large cities. Set up at first in small numbers, as an experiment, in recent years they have grown into a significant force capable of successfully resolving important social and domestic tasks locally.

Positive changes characterize the work style of the republic Council of Ministers. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the republic is coping increasingly successfully with the extensive functions entrusted to it in the practical leadership of socioeconomic life. The structure of the Council of Ministers has been improved. New departments have been created, and many other changes have occurred.

In all the successes achieved by the republic an important role belongs to the Council of Ministers, as well as the Supreme Soviet Presidium. They have drawn conclusions from the criticisms made at the 25th Georgian CP Congress.

But it must be said, wishfully, that democratic forms of preparing and adopting decisions have still not enjoyed further development in the work of the Council of Ministers now, equally, of ministries, departments and the entire economic apparatus from bottom to top--which reduces the level of the decisions' competence and validity.

The functions of the chairman of the Council of Ministers are particularly important. He combines a large volume of work with a diversity of complex tasks. The work style of the Council of Ministers, ministries, state committees and departments largely depends on the work style of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Comrade Z.A. Patardize has sufficient knowledge in the spheres of the economy and administration, an analytical mind and great energy.

He should strive for enhanced responsibility and greater independence on the part of the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers and the leaders of ministries and departments, overcome elements of haste and strive for the comprehensive and consistent implementation of adopted decisions and for the creation of a work climate in which everyone knows what to do and how to do it. It is not simple--but it is necessary--to achieve this.

There is no doubt that the aforesaid wishes will be taken into account and the work style of the Council of Ministers will accord fully with the complexity and scale of the socioeconomic tasks to be resolved in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The period under review was characterized by an increase in the level of trade union activity and increased party attention and concern.

The trade unions scored real successes in their multifaceted work. The percentage of working people who are trade union members is high. A headquarters for the strengthening of labor discipline is operating under the trade union council, and much has been done in the sphere of labor safety. The trade unions' role in directing the socialist competition and defending the working people's legitimate rights and interests has strengthened, and the further development of democracy is taking place in all spheres of trade union life. The AUCCTU and its leadership give great assistance.

This is undoubtedly to the credit of Comrade T. I. Mosashvili, candidate member of the Central Committee Bureau. However, it seems to us that he must struggle more persistently to eradicate formalism in the activities of trade union organizations and standing production conferences and in the practice of concluding collective agreements and monitoring their fulfillment. Then the work of the trade unions will become more complete.

The trade unions must consider it their chief task to elaborate a system combining the mass of their duties in a single main direction: This is the improvement of the style of work with people, the heightening of attention toward man's needs and requirements, penetration into the very essence and depth of the processes and phenomena occurring in labor collectives and the active involvement of working people in production management.

At the present stage the party devotes special attention to the people's control organs, seeing them as an effective form of involving the masses in the management of state and public affairs and in the struggle to instill proper order in the work of all components of the national economy and to strengthen executive discipline.

Proceeding from all this, the Georgian CP Central Committee implemented a number of measures aimed at further strengthening the role of the republic's people's control organs and improving the style and methods of their activities--which has undoubtedly resulted in increased activity on the part of the people's sentinels. The responsibility of people's controllers should be enhanced. The right of control means heightened responsibility to the party and the people on the part of every people's control worker and activist. In our society there are no rights without duties, and no prerogatives without their combination with responsibility.

3. To Improve Party Organizational Work, Develop Intraparty Democracy, Strengthen Party Discipline and Enhance the Sociopolitical Activeness of Communists

Comrades!

The period between congresses has been for the Georgian CP a time of the further strengthening of its ranks and the growth in the militant capacity and authority of primary party organizations, raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms--the chief organizing and directing force in the struggle for the successful resolution of the 10th 5-Year Plan targets.

The Georgian party organization today unites within its ranks more than 350,000 members and candidate members of the CPSU--32,000 more than 5 years ago. Today 1 working person in every 6 and 1 in 10 citizens of the Georgian SSR over the age of 18 years is a communist.

Positive changes have occurred in the placing of communists. Party influence has been strengthened in sectors which determine to a considerable extent the pace of the republic's economic development and of scientific and technical progress.

The Georgian CP is growing primarily thanks to foremost workers and kolkhoz members: They make up 71 percent of the people being admitted to the party. The influx of young people and women into the CPSU's ranks has increased.

The aforesaid trends attest to the well-thought-out and planned nature of party organizations' work associated with the growth in our ranks.

Thanks to the concern of the CPSU Central Committee, which always treats the suggestions and requests of local party organs with great attention and profound understanding, substantial changes have occurred in the structure of the republic's party organization.

New raykoms have been set up--Gladnskiy Raykom in the Tbilisi City and Leninskiy and Avtozavodskoy Raykoms in Kutaisi City.

Among the structural innovations, note should be taken of the creation of seven junction party committees in railroad transportation and the formation of a number of councils comprising the primary party organization secretaries of enterprises belonging to production associations.

The number of party committees in primary party organizations has increased by 200, or 37 percent, in the 5 years. This reflects the process of the enlargement of primary organizations. At the same time there has been an increase in the total number of primary party organizations (an increase of 655) as a result of the creation of new production facilities, enterprises and establishments.

Particularly great changes have occurred in the number of shop party organizations and party groups--which has enabled us considerably to extend party influence within labor collectives.

However, it would be a mistake to think that in the internal machinery of our party organization as a whole and of all its individual components we have already achieved structural and qualitative perfection.

The country's constantly deepening processes of the improvement of the political, economic and management machinery demand the corresponding deepening of party influence-- which can be achieved only by way of further strengthening our ranks.

Figuratively speaking, our congress is the final meeting of the report-and-election campaign conducted in the republic's party organizations since last September. It is the final stage in the Georgian communists' preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress, the chief forum of our great motherland's communists.

THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF THE PRECONGRESS REPORT-AND-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS THE FACT THAT IT GAVE FULL EXPRESSION TO THE WISE LENINIST TENET: "EVERY PARTY MEMBER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PARTY, AND THE PARTY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERY MEMBER" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 7 p 290). The work of the republic's party organization in fostering in communists a sense of involvement in all the party affairs and in enhancing their activeness was naturally reflected in the high indicators for attendance at the meetings (98 percent) and for participation in the discussion of questions (39 percent of the people attending).

Speaking of the qualitative aspect of the matter, the report-and-election campaign as a whole demonstrated the high maturity, principledness and competence of communists and the party aktiv in analyzing and evaluating the state of affairs in various work sectors, in elaborating measures to eliminate existing shortcomings and in the desire to work better tomorrow than today. We have seen many new and interesting people, talented leaders and good organizers and a concrete, constructive approach to resolving the upcoming tasks.

The materials of all the party conferences and communists' letters in response to the Central Committee's appeal in connection with the preparations for the 26th congress of the republic's Communist Party were carefully analyzed. The most interesting thoughts, criticisms and suggestions, grouped according to the most important directions of our work, have been published in a special brochure which has been distributed to the congress delegates.

Each of us has had an opportunity to imbibe the spirit of the conferences held and the problems which particularly concern communists. I believe that such direct informing of delegates about public opinion is useful.

In this we see further expression of the democratic work style which is consistently being asserted in the republic's party organization and which we, as communism demands, will continue to pursue with still greater persistence.

As you will remember, the CPSU Central Committee resolution on Tbilisi Gorkom emphasized that the most important task of party organizations is the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life and the consistent development of intraparty democracy and of principled criticism and self-criticism. The 1976 resolution on the Georgian party organization posed this task as the decisive factor in achieving successes in economic and cultural building.

All the work of the republic Communist Party during the period under review was subordinated to the practical realization of these demands, for they indicated to us the main directions and effective ways and means of overcoming the serious shortcomings characteristic of life in the republic in the recent past.

In their organizational and political work the Georgian CP and its Central Committee concentrated their efforts on the systematic and comprehensive resolution of a three-in-one task: THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC STYLE AND METHODS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP, THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE MASSES' LABOR AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVENESS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE.

In the period between congresses special attention was paid to improving the machinery of intraparty democracy. Practice cogently demonstrates that THE QUALITY OF INTRAPARTY LIFE AND ITS ACCORDANCE WITH LENINIST NORMS HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL INFLUENCE ON THE QUALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE AS A WHOLE. For this reason the further deepening of intraparty democracy inevitably evokes a deepening of democratism in all spheres of our society's life. And in its turn this provides the impetus for further growth of the masses' labor and political activeness, which is what we are seeking.

Every one of us must perceive and be aware of this dialectical linkage. Those who by hook or by crook are resisting democratic processes in our life must be aware of it with particular keenness. After all, one extremely high-ranking [vesma otvetstvennyy] comrade make a remark in the following vein: "This democratization is going to end with my being fired." Well, the possibilities are indeed there and we can rule them out of our practice only by displaying a competent, responsible and conscientious attitude toward the work entrusted to us.

In improving party work we have sought to increase the effectiveness of collective leadership institutions--party meetings, bureaus, plenums and conferences--to involve as many communists as possible in the preparation of decisions and to utilize their experience and proposals.

VARIOUS COMMISSIONS, COUNCILS AND HEADQUARTERS FOR PARTICULAR FIELDS ARE CURRENTLY OPERATING IN EVERY REGION, UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF PARTY COMMITTEES AND PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE TAKING PART IN THEIR WORK AND THESE PEOPLE ARE, IN THE FULL SENSE OF THE WORD, HANDLING THE PROBLEMS ENTRUSTED TO THEM.

The improvement of INTRAPARTY INFORMATION and the attentive attitude toward each party member's remarks and proposals have helped to increase communists' interest in the overall situation and their sociopolitical activeness.

The publication of a monthly news bulletin for primary party organizations, which covers the activity of republic organs and the most interesting aspects of life at local level, has been organized. A current news bulletin is published each week, containing both positive and critical notes about the work of local party, soviet and economic organs, ministries and departments.

The Central Committee and gorkoms and raykoms deliver special reports to primary party organizations on the work that has been carried out to implement the most important decisions. All fundamental questions of improving the activity of republic organs are, as a rule, discussed beforehand in labor collectives, and the latter's opinion is taken into account when decisions are formulated.

AN IMPORTANT FORM OF THESE CONSULTATIONS IS THE REGULAR MEETINGS BETWEEN CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU MEMBERS AND OTHER REPUBLIC LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA OF THE POPULATION.

The primary nucleus of our social organism--the labor collective--is increasingly becoming one of the most important levers of people's power. This point occupied a special place in our work to increase the role and militancy of primary party organizations, which are the direct organizers and implementers of democratic forms of work.

We are entitled to say today that an atmosphere of frankness and of the principled exchange of opinions has been created in the republic's party organization. This is enabling the leadership to always keep abreast of the real situation and to formulate correct decisions. For their part the communists and the working people are confident that their opinion will reach the leadership and be taken into account when issues are decided.

Imperialist propaganda asserts that the political system of socialism does not ensure consideration of the diverse opinions and interests of the members of society, and that public opinion can function effectively only in a bourgeois society.

In reality things are precisely the other way around.

The bourgeois system, lacerated as it is by class contradictions, can in no way claim to reflect the will of the people. This was well observed by K. Marx himself. "Not one government," he wrote, "would yet dare to undertake a serious inquiry into the situation...of the working class." In the bourgeois society the appeal to public opinion serves as a kind of instrument for political and psychological intelligence and for maneuvering between the struggling classes and political parties.

As for socialist society, UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE COINCIDENCE OF THE RADICAL INTERESTS OF ALL CLASSES AND STRATA OF THE POPULATION THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION ACTS AS A FACTOR ACCELERATING SOCIAL PROGRESS. On the one hand it provides the opportunity to utilize the masses' collective experience and intelligence to formulate scientifically substantiated, realistic plans and decisions; on the other hand it enables the state to--figuratively speaking--return to people their thoughts and proposals in the form of new material and spiritual wealth. It is upon this that the value of studying public opinion under our conditions depends.

The republic's party organization has directed its efforts toward the reinforcement of discipline in unbreakable linkage with the deepening and broadening of democratic processes.

LIFE HAS TAUGHT US THAT ONLY IN A CLIMATE OF HIGH DISCIPLINE AND ORGANIZATION IS IT POSSIBLE TO TAKE TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION ALL THE BEST THAT IS ENGENDERED BY THE PROCESS OF THE DEEPENING OF DEMOCRACY IN ALL AREAS OF OUR LIFE, AND BY THE CREATIVITY AND INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES.

The republic has introduced a system for the constant statistical recording of the status of labor, production and contract discipline. This is analyzed regularly, and the necessary measures are undertaken promptly. The working people of city and countryside and individual labor collectives and party organizations periodically come forward with initiatives relating to the reinforcement of the various forms of discipline, and this is producing a broad response.

Today it is objectively easier to fight for a high degree of organization and discipline since they are increasingly becoming an inner requirement for people.

An analysis of the materials of report-back party meetings and conferences and also of the letters received during the preparation of the congress attest that the communists are making of the Central Committee and the local party committees earnest demands for intensified work in this direction.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNISTS AND WORKING PEOPLE IN SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE HAS BEGUN TO BE EXPRESSED NOT ONLY IN THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE LATTER BUT ALSO IN THEIR ORGANIC INCLUSION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS OF THE LIFE OF SOCIETY, SOMETHING WHICH THE REPUBLIC'S PARTY ORGANIZATION HAS PERSISTENTLY SOUGHT AND IS NOW STRIVING FOR.

Also involved here is that agreement itself on the part of communists and all working people of the republic with the activity of the Central Committee--an agreement solidly founded upon faith in the correctness of the direction chosen by us, and in the capability to resolve effectively the current tasks confronting us.

But at the same time the republic's party organization sees not inconsiderable reserves for the further improvement of the democratic style of work. In the first place we have the correct assimilation of the principles, values and forms of democracy both by the leaders and by the broad masses. WE CANNOT AND WE WILL NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO EXPLOIT OUR EVER-DEEPENING AND EVER-BROADENING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY FOR PURPOSES OF PETTY-MINDED CRITICISM, DEMAGOGUERY AND UNSCRUPULOUS SQUABBLING AND INTRIGUING. Only he who labors selflessly together with the people and for the sake of the people has the right to speak on their behalf. Therefore ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT TASKS IS THAT OF IMPROVING THE CULTURAL STANDARD OF THE ENJOYMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS IN DISSOLUBLE LINKAGE WITH THE HONEST EXECUTION OF CIVIC DUTIES.

And that is not all. A considerable amount of work has to be done in order to ensure that the working people's involvement in the administration of state and public affairs assumes everywhere its proper manifestation and is everywhere given concrete expression.

Many of the republic's party committees and state and economic organs are still not paying proper attention to the revelation and study of communists' opinions and the working people's requirements and interests. The majority of our ministries and departments and local organs do not pursue the investigation into people's opinions that is essential for the optimization of management and for the compilation of correct forecasts.

But is it possible to recognize as mature those management links in which there is no permanent dialogue between the leadership and the working people's collectives, or those ministries which do not possess specific and differentiated information concerning the opinion of their sector's workers and employees, and also that of the population which avails itself of the sector's output and services. It seems to us that the answer is no.

IN THE EIGHTIES WE MUST ENSURE HIGH AND STABLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. THIS DEPENDS GREATLY ON MANAGEMENT METHODS, WHICH MUST BE CONSTANTLY IMPROVED AND ADAPTED TO THE CHANGING OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS AND SUBJECTIVE CAPABILITIES.

Proceeding from the instructions of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, in the management of the national economy it is essential, on the one hand, to develop centralism, erecting thereby a barrier to departmental and localist tendencies, and, on the other, to disencumber the upper echelons of leadership of trivia and to ensure flexibility and efficiency in the adoption of decisions--that is, to develop democratism.

During the seventies our economy experienced the consolidation and further development of the diverse forms of the working people's creative participation in management.

Socialist competition should be regarded as one of the most important of them. The republic commission for the leadership of socialist competition is already in its 8th year of operation, as are the regional and sectorial commissions which coordinate all the multifaceted work in this direction.

What have we succeeded in changing and improving in terms of the content and organization of competition in the intercongress period?

First: WITHOUT REPLACING THE TRADE UNIONS, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN INVOLVING PARTY, SOVIET AND ECONOMIC ORGANS IN ACTIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMPETITION. This enables us to channel the labor rivalry more comprehensively, to target it toward the inculcation in people of qualities such as collectivism, mutual assistance and an interest in the results of the common labor.

Second: WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN BROADENING THE PUBLICITY ACCORDED TO AND THE MASS NATURE OF THE COMPETITION, AND TO ENHANCE ITS EFFECTIVENESS ON THE BASIS OF A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR RIVALRY. Considerable assistance in this matter is being rendered by the republican agency for socialist competition affairs--established under the jurisdiction of the Georgian Council of Trade Unions--which is actively enlisting scientists and specialists in the investigation and generalization of the problems of competition and the formulation of recommendations for its better organization.

Further: WE HAVE MANAGED TO COMBINE MORE EFFECTIVELY MATERIAL AND MORAL INCENTIVE AND TO DISCOVER IN THIS SEVERAL NEW FORMS. Of these, I would like to single out greetings letters from the regions and sectors which meet the set targets ahead of schedule and conduct skillful propaganda of the experience of the 5-year plan's heroes. The hoisting of the state flag to the accompaniment of the anthems of the USSR and the republic at the republic's board of honor in the exhibition of national economic achievements has become an interesting form of honoring the victors.

All this has enabled us to a considerable extent to oust formalism in the organization of the competition, although the struggle against this remains one of our more important tasks.

Further improvement of the party's leadership of the socialist competition, its orientation toward the attainment of the high end results of labor and the comprehensive dissemination of leading experience and valuable undertakings and initiatives--these represent one of the main directions in the work of the republic's party organization in the eighties.

WE MUST STRIVE IN ALL OUR MANAGEMENT ACTIVITY FOR THE HARMONIZATION OF THE PRESENT WITH THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE; WE MUST MASTER COMPLETELY THE ART OF PARTY FORESIGHT.

Every draft of the most important political, economic, ideological and juridical decisions must be accompanied by a prognostic report which would reflect both the opinion of communists, party organizations and working people's collectives regarding the probable course of events and also the possible results of the implementation of the decisions at each stage. In this connection it is very important to develop the prognostic thinking of our leadership cadres.

Such thinking is an attribute of party, state management. It is necessary to learn this persistently and specially, for this is a science. We are pinning definite hopes on the Institute of National Economic Management, which is charged with placing the emphasis on training leaders in the ability to foresee events, to predict phenomena and to manage processes with an eye to the future.

AS WE ADVANCE, AN INCREASING ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION WILL BE PLAYED BY SUBJECTIVE FACTORS--concerning which we had a detailed discussion at the 17th Central Committee Plenum. We are recalling this today because it is precisely in subjective factors that the basic reserves for the successful fulfillment of the impending tasks are to be observed.

This tenet is well corroborated also by the sociomanagement experiments to improve the economic machinery currently being carried out in the republic.

An enhanced role has been envisioned for the rayon link in management during the implementation of measures to improve the organizational forms of the management of agricultural production. The task of strengthening and reinforcing this link was resolved via a degree of management decentralization, and also by altering the very structure of the rayon link and by broadening its tasks, rights and functions.

This is essentially a democratic form of management inasmuch as, first, the partner organizations belonging to the association participate in management on democratic principles and, second, the broad recruitment of workers, kolkhoz members and specialists to participation in management is ensured.

IT IS POSSIBLE TO SAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS A STIMULATING FACTOR IN TERMS OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION, WHILE THE CONFIDENTLY DEVELOPING ECONOMY STIMULATES DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT. IN OTHER WORDS, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IS NOTHING OTHER THAN A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY.

It is no secret that as yet not all communists and working people have been drawn into the management process. It is essential for party, state and social organizations to persistently and systematically seek the further enhancement of each individual's activeness and to combat resolutely everything that hinders the working people's involvement in management.

In this sense, formalism and bureaucratism continue to be one of the most dangerous evils. Their manifestations are legion, but they all conceal the blunting of officials' political, social and moral responsibility and their low standard of personal culture and disregard of the public interest.

It should be remembered that bureaucratism is the machinery of resistance to our social goals and values, a method of negating democratic procedures. Although its eradication is linked organizationally with the development and deepening of society's democratic organization, it does not follow from this that bureaucratism is disappearing of its own accord; systematic purposeful work is required for this to happen.

The Central Committee Bureau recently adopted a resolution on measures to intensify the struggle against formalism, red tape and bureaucratism in administrative organs. But the requirements of this resolution essentially extend to all of us. IT IS THE TASK OF EACH ORGAN--PARTY, STATE AND SOCIAL--AND OF EACH OFFICIAL AND WORKER OF THESE ORGANS TO VIEW THEIR OWN WORK CRITICALLY, TO EXPRESS THEIR OWN ATTITUDE TOWARD THESE PROBLEMS AND TO DRAW THE NECESSARY PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

IMPROVEMENT OF WORK WITH PARTY DOCUMENTS REPRESENTS BOTH A RELIABLE BARRIER TO ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF BUREAUCRATISM AND FORMALISM AND AN EFFECTIVE METHOD OF REINFORCING PARTY AND STATE DISCIPLINE AND ENHANCING CADRES' PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

We are obliged to remember also that bureaucratism is inevitably accompanied by, and gives rise to, showiness, ostentatious fuss and self-advertisement--which are completely alien to socialism. Unfortunately we still frequently encounter instances of such bureaucratic activeness concealing careerism and the aspiration to snatch a little more from society without giving it anything in return.

WE DEMAND THAT EVERY PARTY ORGANIZATION, EVERY COMMUNIST AND KOMSOMOL MEMBER AND EVERY WORKING PERSON RESOLUTELY UNCOVER BUREAUCRATIC SORES AND UTILIZE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM THE FULL FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION, CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM.

In this connection I would like to stop and single out particularly CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM AS A MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF PARTY, STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE. CRITICISM REPRESENTS A GREAT MORAL VALUE INASMUCH AS IT IS AN INDICATOR OF AN ORGANIZATION'S POLITICAL SOUNDNESS.

We are convinced of the existence of a direct dependence between the status of criticism and social progress by the experience of the republic's party organization, whose activity in the intercongress period has been permeated by the spirit of criticism and by a self-critical approach to all the phenomena of reality which enables it to reveal shortcomings and their roots and to formulate a positive program for surmounting errors and defects.

This sort of approach to the job brought us some definite successes in the 10th 5-Year Plan. But these successes are not absolute because we are still experiencing many shortcomings. Indeed, we have waged a determined struggle against negative phenomena--but this does not mean that the fight is already ended. We have begun to satisfy better the people's social demands--but this does not mean that these demands are already fully satisfied. We have achieved a healthier moral climate in the republic--but this does not mean that in all collectives we have established the optimal conditions for uncovering each individual's creative capabilities. We have managed to scale the most arduous heights of the 10th 5-Year Plan--but this does not mean that we have utilized all our capabilities and reserves.

Communists quite justifiably believe that it is necessary to create as swiftly as possible a system of recording and analyzing all critical observations and a system of reacting to them. Wherever it is uttered, every observation must reach whomever it is intended for, just as the information relating to the measures adopted on it must get back to the originator of the observation.

We all well realize that breakdowns [sryvy], errors and mistakes can occur in our work. But the main thing is not to repeat them, to draw the correct conclusions from the criticism. THE FIRST AND CHIEF CONCLUSION IS: NEVER TO FLATTER ONSELF NOR REST CONTENT WITH WHAT HAS BEEN ATTAINED, AND TO SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SELF-CRITICAL APPROACH TO ONE'S WORK. And why hide the fact that successes in the 10th 5-Year Plan blunted some leaders' critical attitude toward what had been achieved and gave rise to some sort of contentment syndrome [sindrom spokoystviya].

We have to put a decisive halt to the suppression of criticism, instances of which are still being encountered. The Central Committee's position on this matter has long been clear to all: WE ASSESS SUPPRESSION OF CRITICISM AS AN EVIL RANKING WITH POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SABOTAGE, ENGENDERING CITIZENS' INDIFFERENCE AND IMPEDING OUR FORWARD MOVEMENT. For in circumstances of the suppression of criticism our ideological conceptions have difficulty in getting through to the masses, while the leadership organs are deprived of the "feedback" so essential to them.

Critical judgments express implacability toward the shortcomings in our work. It is for precisely this reason that public criticism has a moral foundation and justification. It is for precisely this reason that we must eliminate all the reasons preventing criticism from acting as a stimulator of social progress.

The Georgian CP Central Committee is devoting much attention not only to the democratic methods of formulating decisions but also to the implementation of the line elaborated, and equally to the responsibility for its implementation.

As far as concerns personal responsibility, everything here is clear: Everyone must answer for his own sector of work, for the job entrusted to him. But there is evidently a need to give some thought also to enhancing the role of collective responsibility, proceeding from the principle "there must be shared responsibility for the common cause." COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Unfortunately, it often happens thus: People are working side by side in a single collegial organ and they are resolving common tasks, but if it becomes necessary to answer for the failure of the job, some bear the full weight of the responsibility while others remain in the shadows. Evidently, in such instances it is necessary to be bolder in issuing strict evaluations to everyone and thus to elevate the collective responsibility.

Of course, it is necessary to make the former individuals responsible, for they are indeed the leaders, but we must also simultaneously call to account those involved in the concealed violations and shortcomings.

I would like to mention again one feature of party organizational work in the period between the congresses. To put it briefly, I am referring to the republic party committees' active search for the most effective forms and methods of working for the attainment of the projected end results.

In organizing the purposeful businesslike discussion of current socioeconomic tasks, a discussion reinforced subsequently by individual work with people, Tbilisi Gorkom and other party committees are skillfully seeking to enhance the responsibility of each communist for their subsequent implementation. One of the main results of this must be the involvement of practically all labor collectives in active struggle for the republic capital's transformation into a model communist city.

The work of Kataisi and Poti Gorkoms is characterized by a high degree of initiative coupled with a well-conceived systematic approach to the work in hand. In resolving issues they rely constantly on the experience generated by the masses' creative labor and on the recommendations of a broad circle of specialists.

We can observe a considerable new element in the forms of ties with primary party organizations and in the arrangement of informational and methodological work with the party aktiv if we examine the activities of Abkhazskiy, Adzharskiy and Yugo-Osetinskiy Obkoms, Rustavi Gorkom and Abashskiy and Signakhskiy Raykoms.

Telavskiy Raykom has demonstrated the bold introduction into practice of the achievements of science and technology. The Rtveli automated control system is in operation-- this is a model of the combination of the scientific organization of production with the scientific organization of party leadership of a most important sector of the republic's national economy: viticulture.

These and the many other examples cited above testify that the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are earnestly and creatively engaged in enriching the forms and methods of their own activities. The style of party work combines well both objectivity and businesslike efficiency, and high exactingness and principledness.

These features also determine the style of mutual relations among the links of the party. Here each passing year sees a change in the nature and content of the demands made of party committees in accordance with the stages traversed by the republic's party organization in its development.

We are striving to spot even deviations--insignificant ones included--from the Leninist norms of leadership, and the incorrect choice of forms and methods of work, and we are talking openly and publicly about this. The comrades will obviously recall that Central Committee plenums have at various times criticized Kaspkiy, Karelskiy and Tbilisi City's 26 Commissars Raykoms for their incompetent approach to key problems, for creating the appearance of keen discussion, and in fact for their feeble organization of the execution of Georgian CP Central Committee decisions.

Tsiteltskaroykiy and Tetrtskaroykiy Raykoms have been criticized for replacing political work with purely economic work; Tianetskiy, Tsulukidzevski and Tsalskiy Raykoms for exhibiting formalism and ignoring the working people's needs; Tskhinavski Gorkom and Bogdanovski and Tsagerskiy Raykoms for inconsistency in resolving major issues.

I particularly ought to say something about Ambrolaurski and Vanski Raykoms. The former leadership of these party committees frequently perpetrated errors and deviations from the style of work prevailing in our party organizations. The Central Committee repeatedly pointed this out to them, gave specific advice and assisted in the elimination of the shortcomings. But all the same the comrades were unable to improve their methods of work and to draw the correct conclusions from the criticism. We were obliged to resort to strict organizational measures.

THE TIME HAS ALREADY ARRIVED WHEN IT IS NOT ONLY THE END RESULTS BUT ALSO THE METHODS AND MEANS BY WHICH THEY ARE ATTAINED THAT ARE BECOMING THE CRITERION OF THE APPRAISAL OF A PARTY ORGAN'S ACTIVITY. We want to see each party committee the political center of a well-adjusted, precisely interacting system for the management of the region's entire socioeconomic and cultural life.

Specially important in this plane is the role of the party committee's leadership--and above all that of its first secretary. It is difficult to enumerate all the qualities required of this category of worker. And yet the most important one at the given stage is a high degree of competence in combination with the ability to organize the competent work of others; a high degree of responsibility coupled with crystal-clear honesty, moral purity and spiritual loftiness; modesty and accessibility.

In the intercongress period sessions of the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat systematically discussed the issues of improving the work style of party raykom and gorkom first secretaries, ispolkom chairmen, ministers and their deputies and other leaders; analysis was made of the work style of collegial organs--party committee bureaus, ministry and department collegiums, primary party organization assemblies and so on. Also analyzed was the work style of the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat, and of the Bureau members. Sessions have been held without any fixed agenda.

The period under review witnessed 23 Central Committee plenums and 21 meetings of the republic's party and party-economic aktiv. The plenums have become true milestones, targeted as they were toward the solution of cardinal problems and defining our chief line. This is promoted both by the established practice of studying and preparing the issues under discussion and also the very atmosphere itself of their discussion.

But this is no longer enough. It is essential that the members of the Central Committee--and this applies to an equal extent to the members of the local party committees--perform their functions not from plenum to plenum, from measure to measure, but constantly and daily study the state of affairs, people's moods, needs and demands, and the shortcomings still extant in our life, generalize all this and submit their proposals to the Central Committee or to the obkoms, gorkoms or raykoms.

Worthy of attention in this sense is the activity of Akhaltsikhskiy, Samtredskiy, Zugdidskiy, Marneulskiy, Khobskiy, Tskhakayevskiy, Sagaredzhoyskiy, Khashurskiy, Telavskiy, Lentekhskiy and other party raykoms.

The above-listed features of party organs' work style have furnished us with the opportunity to really involve great masses of people in management and to enrich them with collective experience, knowledge and interesting ideas. THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT INVOLVEMENT [PRICHASTNOST] IS THE FIRST ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF THE MASSES' ACTIVENESS, OF THEIR HIGH DEGREE OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND RESPONSIBILITY.

We have been resolving and will continue in the future to resolve the problem of inculcating in people the feeling of involvement--and, moreover, in all its aspects: involvement in defining policy, involvement in the responsibility for the pursuit of this policy and involvement--or, more correctly, participation [uchastiye]--in its practical implementation.

This is how we have approached the issue of preparing for our congress. I have in mind the projected participation of all delegates, in working groups, in the formulation of congress recommendations concerning the major avenues of our activity. Practically every delegate will have the opportunity to express his thoughts, to mention everything that is troubling him and everything that has a bearing on his existence.

Comrades!

Our basic task in party organizational work will continue to be the improvement of all work with cadres. In the intercongress period we succeeded in setting up a definite system for cadre selection, placement and education and for enhancing their skills. In pursuit of the principle formulated by the 25th Georgian CP Congress we are actively introducing into our work practice a system of appraising the merits and shortcomings of leadership cadres in the context of the opinion voiced by party organizations and labor collectives.

In implementing its cadre policy the party organization gives most attentive consideration to the multinational factor and strives to cultivate and promote to leadership work cadres belonging to all the nations and ethnic groups residing in the republic. In recent times many representatives of the Abkhazian, Osetian, Armenian, Azerbaijani and other nationalities have been promoted to responsible work in the republic's party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs. The republic's multinational factor is also taken into strict consideration in the sphere of cadre training and retraining. The positive processes of an analogous plan are under way in the Abkhazskaya, Adzharskaya and Yugo-Osetinskaya Oblast organizations and in our city and rayon links.

The election to the Central Committee Bureau of Comrades B.V. Adleyba, V.R. Papunidze and F.S. Sanakoyev had fundamental significance and boosted the authority of the oblast organizations. Participation in the Bureau's work is serving for the said comrades as a fine school, but, on the other hand, we have a right to demand of them that through their knowledge of local conditions and features they assist the Central Committee more effectively in the implementation of the party's decisions.

The 17th Georgian CP Central Committee Plenum, which was the occasion of an earnest, businesslike and concerned discussion of our cadre problems, has become a very important stage in improving our work with cadres.

There has been an increase in the number of workers with higher education, engineers, agricultural specialists, lawyers and economists on the Central Committee schedule. The number of people with party political education is growing. Today around 6 percent of the Central Committee schedule cadres are doctors of sciences and more than 12 percent are candidates of sciences. There are more engineers, economists and women among the secretaries of the raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms.

The problem of combining experienced and young cadres is being resolved in a better fashion. Every third Central Committee schedule worker is under 40 years of age; two-thirds of the posts are occupied by people under 50. The current period is characterized by cadre stability.

Our special concern is the cadre reserve. In the last 3 years over 100 people have been promoted to secretaryships of obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, over half of these people were candidates of the reserve.

Have we succeeded, in the spirit of the 17th Central Committee Plenum demands, in creating an effective system of work with leadership cadres; have we, have the party organs succeeded in constantly monitoring the cadres' professional development and actively influencing this development; are we managing to spot their shortcomings and to promote their prompt and effective correction; finally, are we managing to determine cadre prospects and on this basis to submit every cadre reshuffle to the test of logic?

To a definite extent--yes. We must appraise on merit the big contribution made by our leadership cadres to the fulfillment of the 10th 5-Year Plan targets. These have been difficult, tense years for us; we have encountered errors and certain extremes [peregiby]. Obviously, they are inevitable when an acute and principled struggle is in progress in which one does not immediately succeed in finding the necessary solution. And, possibly, we for our part have been sharp in our appraisals of some leaders, but this has been dictated by the interests of the common cause of people's education.

Today we express the most sincere gratitude to the leaders of ministries, departments, trusts and administrations, to the directors of associations, enterprises and sovkhozes, to the chairmen of kolkhozes, to the secretaries of party organizations, to soviet, trade union and Komsomol leaders, to the directors of scientific and planning and design organizations, and of cultural and enlightenment institutions and service sphere institutions, to the leaders of ideological subunits and creative organizations; it is impossible to list them all. You have passed a complex examination of maturity and have emerged with honor from serious trials.

All the same, we believe that only the first steps have been taken toward improving work with leadership cadres. The problems raised by the 17th Central Committee Plenum require more of a systems approach and greater persistence in their practical resolution.

We can see the imperfection of our structural and organizational forms of work with cadres. What I have in mind is that all this work is insufficiently coordinated among the Central Committee sections and among departments.

And since this topic has surfaced, I would like to wish of Central Committee Bureau member and party organizational work section chief Comrade S.Ye. Khabeishvili that he involve himself more in implementing coordinating functions in the cadre training and retraining department and facilitate the elaboration of methodological recommendations taking into consideration our specific features. It is essential to establish closer contacts with the primary party organizations, to influence more deeply the improvement of local party organs' work style and to utilize better the entire arsenal of the means of studying people--the more so as in principle the section he heads exercises initiative and possesses the necessary reserve for this.

Among the problems we are resolving we have allocated and will continue to allocate a special place to improving the cadres' ideological and theoretical standard and enhancing their business skills.

In this connection I would again like to return to the 17th Central Committee Plenum, which leveled sharp criticism at the republic's existing system for improving cadre skills and remarked on its ineffectiveness and formalism and the weakness of its material and technical base. At the plenum we reported to the communists on the setting up in the republic of an Institute for National Economic Management designed to improve the skills of national economic leaders in the sphere of management and planning.

The institute is already in operation. It already has its first graduates.

The 17th plenum proposed a scheme for creating a unified system of improving cadre skills for the republic as a whole.

In fulfillment of the plenum's instructions the Central Committee has created a coordinating council for the improvement of cadre skills--the organizing and coordinating component of the system for improving skills as a whole.

A special role in cadre education is played by the correct organization of the monitoring and verification of execution. The Central Committee has concentrated attention on improving all components reflecting on the organization of the monitoring system.

The arsenal of monitoring forms and methods employed has been enlarged. Special monitoring groups have been set up in the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and in many ministries, departments and local party and soviet organs. In the period under review the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat discussed on over 140 occasions the course of the fulfillment of previously adopted decisions, along with questions connected with the organization of monitoring work in the localities.

The republic has introduced a system of the current (on a daily basis within the enterprises and individual regions and a weekly basis for the republic) monitoring of the fulfillment of plan targets for the basic technical and economic indicators, coupled with a compulsory monthly examination of the results at special sessions and conferences.

Sessions of the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat regularly hear reports and briefings from leaders and officials on the state of affairs in their respective collectives and sectors and on their fulfillment of party organs' decisions. Over 60 such briefings have been heard during the period between congresses.

To monitor and organize the fulfillment of the most important decisions special working groups are created which handle this problem in accordance with a formulated plan of measures and see the execution of decisions through to their logical conclusion.

Nevertheless a considerable number of decisions are not fulfilled either on schedule or in full.

This acute problem evokes serious concern among the communists. At report-and-election meetings and conferences they stressed that the organization of the monitoring of decision implementation often serves only the creation of a semblance of struggle rather than actual rectification of the situation and that there are still leaders who are generous with their promises but then fail to make the necessary efforts for their fulfillment.

We in the Central Committee carried out a special aggregating operation which showed that the 25th Georgian CP Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums and party aktiv meetings issued around 100 instructions on the resolution of most important economic policy questions. However, a number of them requiring expeditious resolution have not been fulfilled promptly or to the requisite standard by leading organs in the republic.

The Georgian CP Central Committee does not seek a reputation as merely a strict judge and monitor. It must be frankly stated that we in the Central Committee apparatus should establish stricter monitoring of the fulfillment of adopted resolutions.
[paragraph continues]

But at the same time it is essential to strive consistently to ensure that any exactingness is balanced and backed up by an understanding of subordinate organizations' difficulties and needs, and that every kind of monitoring incorporates elements of assistance and concern.

This is precisely the kind of approach that characterized the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on Tbilisi Gorkom and the Georgian party organization. They wisely and comprehensively combine exactingness with the generalization of experience, and monitoring with recommendations and instructions for the future. These historic documents, which constitute a model of verification, enriched the republic's party organization and indeed the entire party with effective forms and methods for monitoring the execution of decisions.

One example of this kind of monitoring is the comprehensive checks of the activity of gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations carried out with the enlisted participation of specialists of various kinds and leading ministry and department workers.

Here monitoring serves not only as a means for uncovering and subsequently eliminating shortcomings but also as a means for generalizing and disseminating positive experience and maintaining a good militant mood everywhere.

As is known, the practical organizational activity of party organs is determined to a considerable extent by the standard of their apparatus' work. This largely determines the degree of daily influence exerted by the party on its grassroots elements.

In the last 5 years the apparatus of the Georgian CP Central Committee and local party committees has grown both quantitatively and qualitatively. New sections and sectors have been created and many indicators characterizing the standard of the apparatus as a whole have improved considerably.

I do not think there is any need to say that the contribution of workers in the apparatus, Central Committee sections and local party organizations to the successes achieved by the republic is quite great. Here new forms and methods of work are being sought, the organization and precision of actions is improving and their influence on party, soviet and economic organizations and so forth is increasing. We pay due tribute to all this. But I would also like to voice a few observations and wishes.

The Central Committee apparatus is insufficiently occupied with elaborating long-term strategic problems. Most of its time is still taken up with current, sometimes even second-priority matters. Nor does the apparatus exert sufficient influence on improving the work style and methods of the organizations for which they are responsible.

The party apparatus' task is to gradually shift away from the resolution of questions under other organs' jurisdiction while simultaneously increasing exactingness toward them and to act increasingly as the coordinator and organizer of the main trends and areas.

It is clear that this is primarily the concern of the Central Committee Secretariat and, likewise, the Bureau.

The Bureau and Secretariat work in a highly intensive and inspired manner and operate creatively, taking into account the principles of collectivity and personal responsibility.

Every Bureau member makes a weighty contribution to generalizing the forms and methods of this important organ's work.

At the same time there are many shortcomings of both an objective and a subjective nature in the activity of the Bureau and the Secretariat. There are shortcomings--and considerable shortcomings--in the work of the Central Committee first secretary. This has been discussed quite frankly and openheartedly at Central Committee plenums and particularly at agenda-less Bureau sessions.

I, for example, am profoundly aware that I have failed to concentrate attention on the state of science and scientific and technical progress. Yet this constitutes the republic's future.

Many regions have required more specific and close attention and profound analysis of their problems from the Central Committee first secretary. In some places, particularly in the initial period, this lack of a systems approach led to undesirable consequences.

There is no reason for me to be satisfied with my personal participation in work to raise the executive standard of party and state organizations and assert modern methods of administrative activity.

The first secretary has a great deal to do to further improve the system of personal contacts with labor collectives and working people's representatives.

The critical remarks which I have addressed to my colleagues and comrades in the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat also apply fully to myself, the first secretary of the Central Committee.

The self-critical approach and benevolent criticism are a reflection of our conviction that only an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and definite strictness combined with philanthropy and comradeship create the necessary worker and party atmosphere.

In party organizational work it is important after the congress to maintain what has been achieved and make everything positive which has been accumulated in individual components available to the republic's entire party organization. This is the first thing.

It is necessary to continue the quest for new and efficient forms of work and improvements in its style in line with the increased scales and tasks of the eighties, to overcome shortcomings and defects more persistently and to instill implacability toward negative phenomena. This is the second thing. And, finally, the third and main task is to purposefully orient the entire arsenal of means toward ensuring the successful fulfillment of the program for the 11th 5-Year Plan by every collective. Our congress has a tremendous role in determining the main forms and methods of the work to reach this goal.

Comrade delegates!

In the Central Committee report we have attempted to provide a detailed analysis of our achievements, to uncover and analyze the main trends in socioeconomic and sociopolitical life, to generalize experience of party leadership and to uncover shortcomings persisting in our work.

The delegates' speeches will undoubtedly demonstrate to all the republic's communists how important it is for the ideas of democratism to really dominate and triumph at the congress and for a display of great activeness on the part of every delegate.

We expect from our delegates not florid phrases and ostentatious clamor but constructive thoughts and arguments and concrete proposals.

And if we manage to create this kind of atmosphere in the congress' work we will be able to say that our congress has asserted all the positive and progressive things which we have accumulated in recent years, and we will be able to say that the congress has endorsed the main, basic trends which have been taking shape for a number of years now in our party organization under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo.

Comrade deputies!

You will probably have noticed that we have not yet touched in the report on the problems of young people and the Komsomol. [paragraph continues]

These questions are absent from the section where traditionally they should have been. And this is no accident. We want to end the Central Committee report with a discussion of the most important thing in our life, our future--the rising generation.

The dialectics of our life and the thrust of history are such that the present is always pointed toward the future. The future always begins in the present.

The younger generation of Soviet Georgia is alongside its older comrades at the forward frontiers of communist building. It is difficult to exaggerate the role of the Komsomol--the party's reliable reserve in our economic, cultural and sociopolitical life. The Komsomol's services have been fittingly assessed by the party, the 800,000-strong Georgian Komsomol has been awarded the Order of Lenin. Our congress warmly congratulates the republic's Komsomol on this high government decoration and wishes it new successes in communist building. In the early seventies the Georgian CP launched the slogan "LOOK TO THE YOUNG!" This appeal did not remain a mere slogan. It determined the main direction of party work among the young. This has been and will continue to be the case.

Ours is a young republic. Young people account for half the republic's population.

The republic's Komsomol has based its organizational and political work on the principle "FROM EACH, THE MAXIMUM PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY; TO EACH, THE MAXIMUM KOMSOMOL CONCERN AND ATTENTION!" We communists rejoice that, despite the many concrete successes achieved in recent years, the Georgian Komsomol is not satisfied with this but is waging an active struggle against shortcomings, negative phenomena of any kind and formalism in educational work.

The Georgian CP constantly draws new forces from the Komsomol, in the years since the 25th congress over 800 Komsomol workers have been promoted to party and soviet work. The cause of educating leading Komsomol cadres and activists is being promoted to a considerable extent by the creation of the beautiful Komsomol township of Boris Dzeladze.

The Komsomol must consolidate everything of value and enrich its work with new forms fully in keeping with the ever-increasing initiative and enthusiasm of the young.

The young Pioneers' organization requires greater attention. Today's young Pioneers and little Octobrists are the future citizens and communists of the 21st century. And what life will be like in the future depends on what kind of people they grow up to be. "EVERYTHING THAT IS BEST FOR THE CHILDREN"--this slogan must become one of our congress' main instructions for everybody. Every kindergarten, every school, every young Pioneers' center, sports facilities, every children's medical institution, every center for children's health and recreation--in a word, everything that belongs to children and is designed for children--must be the best and only the best. And all this must be surrounded by an atmosphere of the kind of education in which a firm foundation for civic molding--moreover, for molding the political maturity of our future citizens--is laid from childhood years in the family, school and society.

Comrades!

The eighties open a new page in the history of the republic and its Communist Party, as for our entire country.

Present today here in this hall are representatives of the revolutionary generations--the generations of the October Revolution, the generations of the era of industrialization and collectivization, the cultural revolution and the Civil and Patriotic Wars--and of the first postwar generations, veterans and young people embodying in such magnificent fashion the unbreakable link of revolutionary times. We are all looking to you, young delegates, young people. You are our hope and our future, you have to carry forward the great banner of Lenin, the banner of communism!

We are profoundly convinced that you will be worthy of this great historic mission! Through your labor, training and exploits prove your combat readiness for the great struggle for the cause of the Communist Party, the cause of the great Lenin, the cause of the October Revolution!

It is a great joy, comrades, to be a contemporary and creator of our age, a communist and Komsomol member of the eighties of our century!

There is no doubt that the communists, the working people and the nations and nationalities of Soviet Georgia, rallied in a monolithic manner around the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, that loyal continuer of the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, will greet the 26th CPSU Congress and the 60th anniversary of Soviet Georgia and its Communist Party in a fitting manner and will fulfill with honor the targets of the 11th 5-Year Plan and the party's great plans.

Glory to the CPSU!

Under the great Lenin's banner--forward toward the victory of communism!

(E.A. Shevardnadze's report was listened to with great attention and repeatedly punctuated with applause.)

Concluding Speech

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[Text of 24 January concluding speech by E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, at 26th Georgian CP Congress: "Marching Ahead, Looking Ahead!"--capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrades!

The discussion of the reports on the first three questions on our congress's agenda has ended. The time has come to sum up some of its results.

The 26th Georgian CP Congress has worked for 3 days. Over the course of 3 days the congress delegates summed up the results of the entire activity of the republic's party organization during the years since the 25th congress and defined the tasks for the next 5 years and the more remote future.

These results have been summed up and these tasks have been outlined in the Central Committee report; in the Georgian CP Auditing Commission report distributed in advance to the congress delegates; in the brief report on this commission's work delivered by its chairman, Comrade I.G. Khazardze; in the thorough, full report delivered by Comrade Z.A. Pataridze, member of the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, on the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th CPSU Congress, "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990"; and also in the delegates' speeches at the plenary sessions and during the elaboration of practical recommendations in the working groups.

A generalized social portrait of the delegate to our congress was drawn vividly in the very interesting report delivered by Comrade S. Ye. Khabeishvili, chairman of the credentials commission, Bureau member and chief of the Organizational Party Work Department of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

THE RESULTS OF THE GEORGIAN CP'S WORK BETWEEN THE CONGRESSES, AS WE HAVE ALL BEEN CONVINCED, WERE MOST IMPRESSIVE. MUCH HAS BEEN DONE AND WE CAN INDEED BE PROUD OF THIS. THE TASKS FOR THE FUTURE ARE EVEN MORE COMPLEX, EVEN MORE STRENUOUS. CONSIDERABLY MORE HAS TO BE DONE.

I want to stress this precisely now that the time has come to sum up the results of the work of our congress itself.

My impressions from the congress are so powerful that time is probably needed to think out everything in full. Therefore allow me, taking into account the fact that the report was extensive enough, to impart just a few of my thoughts.

FIRST. It may be stated with satisfaction that a spirit of creativity, constructive work and initiative permeated everything at the congress and a highly organized atmosphere was created. We felt especially during these days that creativity has become the personal need of the communists and congress delegates. It may boldly be said that there has not been such activeness at any previous congress of our republic's party organization as there has been at this one. Every fourth delegate, in fact, spoke in the debates if we include those who imparted their thoughts at the working groups' sessions--which counts as speaking at the congress.

It is totally impossible to cover, even if only briefly, all the speeches at the plenary sessions, and these sessions are, naturally, the congress's central event. Of course, it is absolutely unrealistic to try to analyze straight off the delegates' comments, proposals and recommendations heard during our work.

Therefore I shall merely say that as a whole the delegates' speeches were undoubtedly of a high and truly "congressional" standard. You felt in everything that each person had worked thoroughly and very painstakingly on his speech and approached it creatively. A speech at a congress is an act of very real creativity. An event so rare, so unique, if you like, in a person's life is never forgotten. It becomes memorable not only to the delegate himself but also to the party organization he represents, to the collective in which he works, and to his comrades and friends, his relatives and those near to him, to the members of his family.

The speeches at the congress were profound, self-critical and bold. It may be said that PARTY CRITICISM AND SINCERE SELF-CRITICISM WERE ACTIVELY PRESENT AT THE CONGRESS AND DOMINATED IT.

Bold, principled criticism was heard at the congress levelled against communists, irrespective of their rank or post, including our high-ranking comrades. Shortcomings in the work of individual ministries and departments and in the activity of Central Committee sections, the republic's Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the gorkoms and raykoms were subjected to keen and businesslike criticism.

Indeed, comrades, in any sphere we still have many, very many, shortcomings. It is a very good thing that the delegates notice and see them, point to these shortcomings, give advice and suggestions as to how to eliminate them and how to rectify the situation. It is a very good thing that a communist, a rayon organization delegate, speaks at the congress of the shortcomings in the organization's work and in the activity of the raykom.

While assessing highly on the whole all the positive advances which have taken place in recent years in the life of our party organization and the life of the entire republic, the delegates at the same time treated the successes achieved very soberly and very self-critically and displayed high exactingness and, I would say, a worthwhile sort of quibbling regarding any shortcomings, forgiving no one anything.

THIS SPIRIT OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS, THE SPIRIT OF SELF-CRITICISM, DETERMINES OUR CONGRESS'S OVERALL LEVEL. THIS IS ITS PRIME DISTINGUISHING FEATURE.

As has already been said, in connection with preparation for the 26th congress the Georgian CP Central Committee addressed to the communists and all working people of the republic a letter which generated an ardent response and it received thousands of letters in reply. So our debate here essentially began even before the congress.

I shall quote just one of these letters. It was sent by Tamara Andreyevna Kupuniya, an eminent person in our republic, a team leader at Zugdidskiy Rayon's Akhalsopeli village kolkhoz, Twice Hero of Socialist Labor, deputy of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and a delegate to our congress.

I know that esteemed Tamara Andreyevna dictated this letter to her grandson. So this is their collective opinion. Today Tamara Kupuniya is in the Presidium of our congress. I believe she will not object if I read aloud the text of her letter--after all, it is addressed to us all. I shall read it as it is written--in Georgian:

"I am 80 years old now, and 50 years have been given over to kolkhoz work. We are all moved and gladdened by each step forward taken by our Communist Party and, with it, by us all. I try as far as I am able to serve my dear people and my motherland. Since the publication of the Central Committee's draft on the program for the development of the country's national economy for the 11th 5-Year Plan period and since we began to prepare for the party congress, I have been thinking constantly about how I, a simple worker, can express my thoughts, how I can help full abundance to come to the countryside. I am very concerned that this abundance does not exist yet.

"Do you know what conclusion I reached in recalling my life and comparing the old with the new? Much now comes very easily for some people in the countryside. [paragraph continues]

"So some people have completely lost their conscience, there's no other way of putting it. Instead of supplying foodstuffs they have begun to consume them and all this is done in pursuit of 'easy money.' There are people in our village who have ceased to respect the peasant's labor, who seek the easy way in life and want everything to fall into their laps of its own accord. That is why they prefer to cultivate crops which require no special care, such as bay trees, 'Kayfera' pears, loofahs, even elderberries, which they sell for 40 kopeks a kilogram. The income from all this is considerable, but there is no food in the house.

"It is hard to believe, but you find houses increasingly frequently where the usual stock of corn is not to be found, where kitchen gardens and premises for livestock and poultry have begun to disappear. Without this, what sort of household does the village inhabitant have? He himself now goes to the bazaar for radishes and parsley.

"Any self-respecting householder always used to have stocks of grain, foxtail millet, fruit, churchkhela [type of sweetmeat], raisins, and pumpkins in his larder and kept many chickens and turkeys in his poultry house and goats in the shed. The villager always had something to offer as a treat to a grandson or nephew visiting from the city: a freshly made cheese, buffalo-milk matsoni [similar to yogurt], or fresh milk. Even now there should be plenty in every house, if only the desire were there. But wanting alone is not enough. As in any matter, work is necessary. Nothing comes without work.

"Man has not been given the land to let it become overgrown with weeds. When you have allocated a private plot to a person you must instill in him the idea that the land must always flourish, that that is what the plot is for, so that there will be plenty of foodstuffs, especially the most essential ones.

"And I want to say something else. Not a single villager--be he a kolkhoz member or an employee--should be without a kitchen garden, without livestock and poultry. It is worth thinking about that. I have talked with our kolkhoz members and they agree with me. In the new 5-year plan we have decided in our kolkhoz to achieve within 2 years a situation where everybody has a cow and chickens and grows vegetables and corn on his private plot. He who does not know the value of land should have it taken from him. The land must not stand idle!

"And one more question worries me. We have become very much accustomed to crowded, overly lavish weddings and funerals, send-offs for army draftees and children's birthday celebrations. Some people or, to be more precise, young people, believe this is traditional. But that is not so! This is no tradition. No one in our areas ever heard of it in the past. A sense of proportion was always observed at weddings and funerals. Draftees were properly seen off to the army and a newborn child was always greeted properly. No one ever brought together crowds of people for a feast and then threw away mounds of edibles the next day. After all, it had all been acquired through work, by man's sweat and blood, as they say.

"But now? If 300-400 people have been invited, that is considered an average wedding, and there is enough food left over next day for a similar number of people to eat their fill.

"And how many such feasts take place over the year--it is better not to ask! Has anyone calculated how much food and wine gets squandered, how many working days are lost after such feasts and how many workers' hands are idle? What harm is thus caused to the country and the state?

"And there is something else I have to say. Such weddings and birthdays are not organized for pleasure and enjoyment, but for ostentation or gain. Some people pride themselves, saying look what a feast I've given everyone, while others organize veritable extortion among the guests in the most shameless manner. Some people impudently profit from it, but it is not so easy for others because only someone who can get money easily fritters it away lightly. With all this the whole point of such meetings--establishing closer contact, people's spiritual fellowship--is left aside. No one even mentions it.

"It was not like that before. For instance, only close relations and very close friends and neighbors were invited to a wedding. Not all that much was drunk, but people enjoyed themselves more and danced and sang. Each person knew and loved the folk songs.

"I am saying this because it is necessary to know how to tell good from bad, true from false. What has now become fashionable--to astound people with the lavishness of one's table--is false. Therefore I propose declaring a resolute struggle against all false gatherings. It is time to put an end to the extravagant squandering of the foodstuffs created by man's honest, hard work.

"No one must be allowed to squander the people's wealth. Let us treat this matter seriously and elaborate norms of behavior compulsory for all. When good advice does not help, let us resort to other measures, to the law. Let us not allow our honest good name to be blackened!

"It seems to me that the success of our common cause and the implementation of the program now called the food program depends largely on this."

That is the letter in its entirety. At the end, esteemed Tamara Andreyevna writes that she must have upset us with her letter but has done it only to impart her feelings.

These misgivings are unfounded! We can only thank her sincerely for such wise advice and suggestions. I think that in itself this letter is the best portrait of the delegate to our congress in which the delegate's most characteristic features are generalized and the communist's moral complexion is embodied.

THE SECOND feature of our congress consists in the fact that the form in which the congress was held--the differentiated discussion of a series of very important problems of the republic's economic and social development and the further improvement of organizational and political work in 15 working groups of delegates--was in keeping with the congress' content. While initially we still had doubts as to the expediency of this form, we can now boldly say that it has fully justified itself.

The delegates correctly said that the enhancement of the activeness of the communists and all citizens is not a simple matter, that it is a complex process. The masses' constantly growing activeness is a political and social phenomenon, comrades. This increase in activeness sets us the task of restructuring not only our practical work but the very mode of thought of people. This was also mentioned by the speakers who stressed that vigorous public activity requires the mobilization of all man's internal spiritual forces.

In the evening, after the end of the first day of the congress's work, we sat and as far as possible studied very attentively the questions raised by the delegates at the working groups' sessions. These amount to tens, hundreds, of very valuable proposals relating to the most diverse spheres of our life.

I shall say frankly, comrade deputies, that you have set us a most complex task. How to digest such abundant and diverse information, how to comprehend all these problems? How to find optimal solutions? How to ensure that not a single one of the proposals meriting attention remains without profound study and a proper reply? After all, virtually, every delegate, and that is perfectly natural, was interested in the destiny of the problems he posed and what decisions would be taken on them.

It must be said that the republic will be unable to resolve a number of tasks by its own efforts alone--they are so important and serious. We will have to turn to the union ministries, the union Gosplan, and to sections of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. But once the tasks have been set, once the decision has been taken not to leave a single valuable proposal unheeded, each matter should be carried through to its logical conclusion.

Comrade delegate L.O. Dzhavakhishvili, our young viticulturist, the representative of the generation which has come to the congress as if from the republic's future--spoken well on this score. She displayed sincere surprise:

"How can the government's decision not be fulfilled? No one can be excused for that. Even in our team we do not tolerate people who fail to fulfill the decisions which have been taken."

That was more or less what she said, and she added too that a communist's word is not chaff which can be cast to the wind. How much truly popular wisdom these words contain, do they not? By this she wanted to say: The word of the communist should be especially weighty!

In my opinion, TAMARA ANDREYEVNA KUPUNIYA'S LETTER AND LEYLA DZHAVAKHISHVILI'S SPEECH ARE GRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF THE CONTINUITY OF THE GENERATIONS. IN THEM WE CAN SEE CLEARLY THE CONTINUITY OF GOALS, THE CONTINUITY OF THE SPIRIT OF TWO GENERATIONS OF DELEGATES TO OUR CONGRESS. ONE GENERATION LAID THE FOUNDATIONS FOR BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY, THE OTHER HAS TO BUILD THE BRIGHT EDIFICE OF THIS SOCIETY HIGHER AND HIGHER.

Everything said at the congress--and so much of interest was said--and your activity itself, comrade delegates, set the Georgian CP Central Committee qualitatively new tasks. Every delegate has the right to demand from us a reply to his question. And for its solution, wherever it may have been posed--at a plenary session or in a working group--an approach is required appropriate to the party organization's supreme leading organ.

We may be asked: Why are you making life difficult for yourselves? If there were no working groups there would be no additional questions and no additional problems. But after all it is here, in this hall, that we have already heard the words of Marx who said that true happiness lies in struggle. When we are convinced that a communist and citizen sees himself as the true master of his country and his republic and, as a real master, sets us important, topical problems, then however many of these problems there may be, in the struggle to resolve them and to fulfill the tasks set before us we have found, continue to find and always will find our true happiness!

The search for new forms, the creation of working groups at the congress, the demand that leaders should meet more frequently with the collectives and address the working people more frequently--all this, comrades, is necessary not for form's sake and not for superficial effect but for the crux of the matter. The crux of the matter lies in the need to communicate more with people, to establish close contacts with them.

This is simply essential. We recall instances where many comrades, very good, honest, conscientious and quite erudite in themselves, when it came to the crunch proved absolutely unprepared and unable to approach people and explain to them where they had gone wrong and persuade them of the true state of affairs. They were also incapable of frankly admitting their own mistakes for all to hear.

We must know how to uphold our ideological positions in a principled and consistent manner. To find the shortest pathways to each person's mind and heart is a great art and it must be mastered, mastered tenaciously and persistently, on each occasion taking into account the new atmosphere, the new situation, when explanatory work can no longer be performed in the old way, by the old methods, and by totally obsolete forms. That is why we speak so often of the intolerability of formalism in education work, that is why we seek and introduce so persistently all that is new, all that is most rational and progressive--all that can help the communists master the most complex art of interpersonal contact, the art of influencing people's minds and moods.

And that is why each delegate has been given the opportunity to impart his proposals on the most diverse issues.

Many interesting opinions were voiced at the session of the working group on problems of further improving work with cadres and their selection, placement, and education.

Topical issues like the balance of manpower resources, the development of the agroindustrial complex, the production of consumer goods, and the improvement of the people's welfare and others were examined in depth and very thoroughly. The profound and interested approach has helped to elaborate interesting, businesslike recommendations and to specify practical ways of implementing the tasks which have been set and attaining the projected goals.

The specialists' opinions on questions of the further development of scientific and technical progress, the improvement of the management of the national economy, the improvement of production efficiency and quality and the growth of labor productivity were highly authoritative. Their high degree of competence, profound knowledge of the question and rich practical experience had an effect.

The delegates taking part in the sessions of the working groups on problems of fuel and energy resources, capital construction, transportation and communications put forward as the most important task that of intensifying the intersectorial targeted-program approach to matters and of overcoming narrow departmental barriers.

The recommendations of the working groups which examined questions linked with the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work, the improvement of working people's political culture and the formation of the individual are also marked by a comprehensive approach.

The delegates elaborated valuable recommendations and businesslike proposals in the sphere of the further development of socialist democracy. The suggestions devised by the delegates from the groups which engaged in the study of problems of asserting the socialist way of life, the consolidation of law and order, discipline and socialist legality, and the improvement of the standard of the military-patriotic education of working people and above all of young people are closely linked with these recommendations and proposals.

THE IDEA OF THE NEED TO ADHERE STRICTLY TO A LENINIST STYLE OF WORK IN ALL SPHERES OF OUR ACTIVITY AND TO RAISE THE PARTY LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE TO A NEW, HIGHER LEVEL PERVADED THE WORK OF ALL GROUPS.

The working groups' sessions were animated, with the delegates displaying a high degree of activeness, and in many cases impassioned discussions and arguments were kindled.

Our comrades who are party Central Committee workers and journalists who are specially assigned to the working groups brought interesting observations from each other. They picked up many characteristic details and nuances and reflected all this in their collective reportage which I now have in front of me. Time does not allow me to read it in full. I shall cite just a few highlights.

The overall impression is that the delegates taking part in the groups' sessions got great satisfaction from the results of their work. There were considerably more delegates who wanted to speak than opportunity allowed. The atmosphere itself was conducive to this. A very concerned and earnest attitude to matters was displayed. It was simply impossible to determine exactly when discussions began and when they ended. Sometimes the discussion was still under way on the bus after the end of the session and in some places delegates did not break up for a long time and the exchange of opinions continued. Impassioned disputes arose in the recesses between sessions. Many delegates, mainly economic workers, taking advantage of the fact that ministry and department leaders, including leaders of union ministries and departments, were there, tried to resolve several of their urgent matters on the spot. We know the kind of exactingness which the delegates displayed toward each other and the sort of "offensive" which, to be frank, they mounted against many republican-rank leaders. A very large number of major, important problems were set before Comrade Stepan Dmitriyevich Khitrov, the USSR minister of rural construction, who, incidentally, always renders great aid and support to our republic.

The groups' sessions took place in an atmosphere of maximum frankness and well-meaning criticism. The very atmosphere reigning at the sessions was more conducive to the free exchange of opinions. It was possible to set forth one's viewpoint in more detail and defend it more vigorously.

Before its session an ad hoc sociological poll was carried out in the group for the consolidation of law and order, discipline and socialist legality. The results of this poll tallied virtually completely with the opinion voiced at the group's session and this merely confirmed that in all cases the delegates occupy an equally principled stance and that they are equally exacting and equally demanding toward each other and themselves.

The work of yet another group, the 16th, created at the congress itself, which received queries and memos sent to the presidium, appeals to the congress, letters, complaints and so forth was organized in an efficient energetic way.

There is much that is interesting in this collective reportage and the journalists conceived the idea of preparing a book provisionally entitled "The Delegate Has Come to the Congress" which will describe the work of these groups and what this first experience provided, what lessons can be derived from it. I think this is a good and necessary matter. Let us wish our journalists success in implementing it.

As you can see, comrades, THE TRULY CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE PREVAILING AT THE CONGRESS ITSELF IS GENERATING NEW CREATIVE PLANS AND NEW SCHEMES AMONG ITS PARTICIPANTS. This is a good sign, because the significance of the creative factor is exceptionally great for the practice of our work, for the practical functioning of all links in the party, state and social mechanism. This question was also raised at the congress by the delegates.

CREATIVITY IS A TREMENDOUS INCENTIVE TO LABOR. IN A CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE PEOPLE DISPLAY ASTOUNDING ENTHUSIASM; IT GIVES THEM INSPIRATION AND THE DESIRE TO WORK BETTER EMERGES. It is in just such a creative atmosphere that new facts of human nature, new qualities and new properties of the human soul are revealed. It is precisely in a truly creative atmosphere that the work of the worker, kolkhoz member, party worker or any person becomes not only a duty but an inner requirement and brings joy and moral satisfaction. It is precisely such creative labor which exalts man himself. THIS IS THE MORAL ATMOSPHERE FOR WHOSE CREATION THE COMMUNIST-LENINISTS HAVE ALWAYS STRIVEN, ARE STRIVING NOW AND WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE.

The working groups' activity was of a truly creative nature. We sought to create and did create an atmosphere in which the delegate was not only ABLE TO SPEAK OUT but COULD NOT FAIL TO SPEAK OUT, could not fail to share his thoughts with others, and in which he wholeheartedly wanted to do so.

We have already said once that the potential of the human brain is truly boundless and inexhaustible. Scientists assert, and Academician A.S. Prangishvili, a delegate to our congress, can confirm this, that our intellect, man's capacity for thought are used far from fully, only by about 15 percent. A creative atmosphere is also fertile soil in which the potential of the human mind is most fully revealed. And there is perhaps no greater reserve for the development of the economy, culture, and social life than a creative situation, a creative atmosphere. And such an atmosphere is formed precisely in the process of the intensification of our life's democratic principles, the expansion of intraparty democracy and the enhancement of people's activeness and responsibility.

I THINK THAT SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE, AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH EACH DELEGATE IS INVOLVED IN ALL THE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT THE CONGRESS WHILE THE ENTIRE CONGRESS IS INVOLVED IN EACH DELEGATE'S PROPOSAL--THAT IS, WHAT IS INDEED A TRULY CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE--PREVAILED IN THIS HALL THROUGHOUT THESE LAST FEW DAYS.

It must be supposed that the recommendations submitted by the working groups for the congress' examination will be approved by it.

The report suggested retaining the orientation of these groups' work for the future too. It must be supposed that the need for this was confirmed by their activity at the congress itself. It will be correct if we assign the leaders of the working groups the task of taking their problems further, so to speak, right up to the 27th Georgian CP Congress, implementing in practice the recommendations elaborated by the delegates. As you know, Central Committee Bureau members, deputy chairmen of the republic's Council of Ministers, and several other members of the Georgian CP Central Committee headed these groups. And the orientation of the working groups' activity coincides and tallies fully with their official, functional duties.

I shall apparently be expressing the common opinion if I say that our groups' interesting, useful and effective work convincingly attests to the fact that this is A GOOD FORM WHICH WILL HELP US TO CONTINUE TO ENHANCE THE COMMUNISTS' ACTIVENESS AND ORGANIZATION AND TO CONSOLIDATE DISCIPLINE.

One further proposal, as is well known, by a decision of the Central Committee Bureau, a very authoritative commission was created, headed by Central Committee second secretary, Comrade G.V. Kolbin, to prepare the 26th Georgian CP Congress. This commission's activity and that of the Central Committee departments, particularly the Organizational Party Work Department, was most fruitful. This is best borne out by our congress, its high standard and the fact that it was well organized. It seems to us that this commission should not wind up its work and lay down its powers. It can do much that is useful for the practical implementation of the congress decisions. To this end it is essential primarily to organize the in-depth study of all questions raised at the congress and then to submit proposals for the creation of a unified system, a unified, well-adjusted mechanism ensuring the implementation of these proposals and the most successful fulfillment of the decisions taken by the congress.

Thus, our congress is ending, but the work of this commission is, if you like, just beginning.

THE THIRD THING I would like to say in concluding our congress: This form of holding it has not emerged on bare, empty ground, as they say; it has a firm, solid foundation; we arrived at it as a result of the search for various paths for the consistent development of intraparty democracy, as the Central Committee report stated in sufficient detail. This search has been complex and difficult. The paths themselves have also been difficult. There have been failures; there have been blunders; but this has not dampened the ardor between us.

After all, as is well known, everything new has a hard time blazing a trail for itself. This was the case when we adopted a new and more sophisticated organizational form of agricultural management. This was the case when we introduced many effective systems--very interesting in concept--which were devised with the aid of union organs, for the control of the national economy, output quality and so forth. This was the case when we created the public opinion research council and it was precisely as a result of studying and generalizing the opinion of broad sections of our public that we reached the conclusion regarding the need to mount the most resolute struggle against protectionism, against harmful traditions, private ownership tendencies, bureaucratism and so forth in connection with which the relevant Georgian CP Central Committee resolutions were adopted.

I recall disputes with one of our comrades who obstinately argued that there is no need to take decisions on stepping up the struggle against bureaucratism. He argued absolutely seriously and even educated his subordinates in the view that in our party organization there are not and cannot be manifestations of bureaucratism. That is how some comrades sometimes err. They think one thing but life suggests something else.

Time has passed and the vitality of the decisions taken has become obvious and almost all the proposed forms of work have been acknowledged which, of course, has promoted the success of the matter.

All we Georgian communists, our entire party organization, understand full well and are well aware that much of what is done in our republic is dictated by life and has been borrowed from the party organizations of the fraternal union republics, krays and oblasts which are seeking just as tirelessly and just as persistently new ways and new forms for the most efficient and most effective practical application of Lenin's teaching, Lenin's style and Lenin's methods of work. We have learned much from our army comrades and the army communists. WE ARE STUDYING ATTENTIVELY ALL THIS VALUABLE EXPERIENCE ACCUMULATED IN OUR PARTY, TRYING TO COLLECT IT BIT BY BIT AND USE IT IN OUR DAILY ACTIVITY.

We are well aware that this SEARCH FOR NEW FORMS AND NEW METHODS OF WORK IS POSSIBLE ONLY IN THE FREE, TRULY CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE WHICH HAS BECOME FIRMLY ESTABLISHED IN OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PARTY SINCE THE OCTOBER (1964) CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WHICH MARKED THE CONSISTENT IMPLEMENTATION OF LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY LIFE AND PRINCIPLES OF PARTY LEADERSHIP, DEMONSTRATING INDESTRUCTIBLE LOYALTY TO THE PARTY AND TO ITS GENERAL LINE. Only in such a creative, truly Leninist atmosphere was it possible to achieve the positive results and innovations in the economic sphere, the cultural sphere and the sphere of sociopolitical life, which we have mentioned in the past few days at our congress.

At the congress we developed the experience of the Tbilisi Gorkom in organizing the work of sections on the threshold of the 38th city party conference. This step is a logical continuation of our general line. In the period under review the Georgian CP has accumulated considerable experience through generalizing and disseminating all that is positive, all that is most valuable, all that is advanced and progressive born in our oblast, city and rayon organizations.

And this experience has not gone unnoticed. The assessment given by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, in his book "Questions of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus" places great obligations on the republic's party organization.

The book states that "THE GEORGIAN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MANY GORKOMS AND RAYKOMS AND THEIR APPARATUS ARE CHARACTERIZED TODAY BY THE CREATIVE QUEST FOR THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF RESOLVING IMPORTANT AND COMPLEX ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS, BY A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TOWARD PROBLEMS OF MANAGING THE ECONOMY, AND BY THE CONSTANT, SYSTEMATIC ENLISTMENT OF THE BROAD PARTY AKTIV AND WORKING MASSES TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TASKS AND THE ELABORATION OF MEASURES TO IMPROVE MANAGEMENT."

I think that this represents most active support for all undertakings in our party organization. This creative quest also includes the form for holding the party congress which has just now emerged. It is deeply satisfying that our guests--Comrades Vladimir Nikolayevich Bazovskiy, Aleksey Vasilyevich Viktorov, Stepan Dmitriyevich Khitrov, Mikhail Porfiryevich Georgadze, Petr Andreyevich Paskar, Mikhail Ivanovich Khaldeyev, Aleksandr Ivanovich Seleznev, Anatoliy Timofeyevich Karpychev, Yevgeniy Iosifovich Bugayev, and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Borodin--were very active participants in the working groups' sessions. Allow me to thank them all for their active and most interested participation in the work of our congress.

The high assessment which the CPSU Central Committee gave in its resolution on progress in the implementation of the decision on the Tbilisi Gorkom, in other resolutions on the Georgian party organization and in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's letters of congratulation to the entire republic as a whole and to the best labor collectives, leading industrial and agricultural production workers and to our eminent figures should not turn our heads or generate in the Georgian communists any feeling of self-satisfaction or complacency.

Recently many comrades have been voicing some concern on this score, believing absolutely rightly that now that such substantial successes have been attained in the 10th 5-Year Plan, and attained moreover across the board--in the economy and in sociopolitical life--in no way must the slightest elements of concept and arrogance be allowed to emerge in the party organization's work: THIS QUESTION IS A PRINCIPLED ONE, COMRADES, AND THIS ALARM HAS SOME BASIS.

What should we undertake? What medicine is there for this?

It is appropriate to return here to the main problem which was basically discussed at the congress and mentioned in the report--it is necessary to follow the path of the even greater expansion of democratism, of the enhancement of the communists' activeness and of the vanguard role of our entire aktiv.

DEMOCRATISM AND ACTIVENESS ARE THE TWO FACTORS WHICH PUT IN MOTION AND NECESSARILY WILL PUT IN MOTION THE THIRD FACTOR--THEY RAISE EACH PERSON'S RESPONSIBILITY, RESPONSIBILITY NOT ONLY FOR FULFILLING HIS PERSONAL PLEDGES BUT ALSO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMMON CAUSE, FOR THE WORK OF THE ENTIRE COLLECTIVE, FOR THE WORK OF HIS COMRADES AND COLLEAGUES.

Patient and persistent work in asserting precisely such truly democratic principles and precisely such a truly Leninist style of leadership, collegiality and collectiveness in our party organization is the best guarantee that we will always approach each of our successes objectively, always approach it in a businesslike way, and assess it dispassionately.

This line, this practice are the best medicine for arrogance, complacency and conceit. And if symptoms of this disease still make themselves felt in some places, we shall cure it immediately by increasing people's activeness, enhancing exactingness and demandingness and developing criticism and self-criticism by every means.

Almost all Central Committee Bureau members spoke at our congress. In our view, to be a member of the party committee and, still more, to be a member of the Central Committee Bureau is not only a great honor but a great responsibility. The republic's party organization and the party congress should know who is responsible for which sectors. May each Central Committee Bureau member give thought right now to the fact that will have to speak at the 27th Georgian CP Congress. And each one will be personally responsible for specific deeds, for the unity of word and deed.

When the Central Committee Bureau members were asked to speak at our congress we proceeded here from the injunction of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev who constantly stresses the need to combine collectivity of leadership in our party with the workers' personal responsibility for their allotted work.

As you have seen for yourselves, a collective organ, in the form of the Central Committee Bureau and entire Georgian CP Central Committee, functions in our republic. I emphasize that it is indeed a COLLECTIVE ORGAN therefore I was very disconcerted when the comrades who spoke in the debates repeated so emphatically one and the same surname. I do not doubt that all this was said sincerely, wholeheartedly and honestly. And I express the most profound thanks to all comrades and to our entire congress.

However, as always, I will be utterly frank and I will honestly admit that I felt somehow very awkward, very uncomfortable.

I may be so bold as to assure you that unless self-control is established then sincerity is transformed into insincerity. If toadies and fawners appear, we will be threatened with the danger of losing all that we have that is most rational, most valuable, most precious which we have accumulated with such labor, and collected bit by bit. And this precious asset is our efficiency, our implacability toward ostentation and ballyhoo. If we pay no attention to such phenomena and if we bypass them, then we shall be committing a grave error. It would be a great sin to our party, our conscience and our people, if you like.

To judge by the auditorium's stormy reaction to my words, I have obviously voiced the opinion of our entire congress. Your applause also bears this out.

The well-known film producer Tengiz Abuladze is sitting in the hall. I saw him and remembered how, when he spoke at the Tbilisi city party conference, he imparted his feelings, his feelings as a man sitting in the presidium. And there I was sitting in the presidium and thinking with anguish: Better the speaker should pass over the part of his speech where the name of the leader is usually mentioned, better he move on to business, if only he would not give the name....

I want to repeat what I once said at a Central Committee plenum. If the successes achieved are ascribed to the credit of just one man, one leader, then what about shortcomings? And there are many of them in our work.

We have already spoken, comrades, of the grave danger presented by the phenomenon--and it existed in our republic in the past--that is local, regional leader-worship which harms the all-party, all-state cause and promotes manifestations of localistic tendencies resolutely condemned by the party. These tendencies have nothing in common with the real authority of the party collective leader.

IN OUR PARTY THERE IS ONE COLLECTIVE LEADER--IT IS THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV, OUR PARTY'S RESPECTED, WISE, REAL LEADER WHOM WE ALL LOVE.

So we understand intraparty democracy as a very important aspect of the guiding principle of the party's organizational structure and activity--the principle of democratic centralism.

Many people are asking: We speak of democracy but what about discipline, organization and centralism, which is the second, no less important, aspect of democratic centralism? What about centralism which is graphically expressed in the pursuit of the party's unified policy and in the subordination of lower-ranking organs to higher-ranking ones and of the minority to the majority?

We must say frankly and openly to those who confront us with this problem: This is a farfetched problem, comrades. Everything is clear here, everything is perfectly definite here. IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT DEMOCRATISM AND CENTRALISM ARE TWO INTERCONNECTED PRINCIPLES AND THE ORGANIC UNITY OF THESE TWO PRINCIPLES COMPRISES THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

And if, firmly following the course of the party Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's instructions, we seek the development of intraparty democracy and democracy as a whole, then we always stress here that we have in mind not some conjectural, abstract democracy, but SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. This is an absolutely fundamental question.

In displaying concern for people's education and the growth of their culture and their ability to use democratic institutions and their constitutional rights, the party proceeds from the premise that THE DEVELOPMENT AND INTENSIFICATION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, THE ENHANCEMENT OF MAN'S ACTIVENESS IS THE TRUEST PATH TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF DISCIPLINE AND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-DISCIPLINE, THAT IS, TO THE ASSERTION OF CONSCIOUS DISCIPLINE, and conscious discipline, AND I MEAN CONSCIOUS in a certain sense is also the manifestation of the Soviet person's supreme democratism. Here there can be traced A DIALECTICAL UNITY BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DISCIPLINE AND THE MASSES' ACTIVENESS AND ORGANIZATION. There is no other logic.

We see in this unity an important reserve for our growth.

And we are resolving all the tasks facing the republic's party organization by developing precisely these two principles, these two aspects of democratic centralism.

The close combination of these two principles was the main method of our work in the 10th 5-Year Plan--one of the best in Soviet Georgia's entire history. We will adhere even more consistently to this method in the 11th 5-Year Plan which should be even a better, or even greater moment than the 10th. [paragraph continues]

To ensure that this is what it does become, it is necessary from the very first days of the new year to enhance people's activeness, to work indefatigably, to work with our sleeves rolled up, to rouse all working people and our entire people to the fulfillment of the 5-year plan targets. In the past few days the congress has received a broad stream of letters, telegrams and reports from shop collectives, sectors, teams and leading workers. They all report the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the January plan. Allow me, dear comrades, on your behalf to congratulate warmly and wholeheartedly all leading workers, production innovators, and socialist competition stalwarts on this remarkable labor victory.

We see and we know that each person is striving to find his place in the implementation of the imposing program for our country's further economic and social development and with it our republic's development as well. Each person is trying to do his own bit, make his own weighty contribution to this program.

We will continue to strengthen discipline and to step up the struggle against negative phenomena. We promise you that. The readiness to do so was stated in the speeches of almost all the delegates. We felt particularly strongly the importance of posing the question in just this way when we heard the speeches delivered by Comrade O.F. Kulishev and Comrade N.I. Makarov and when the Soviet Army servicemen came to greet the congress.

The aggravation of the international situation and the interests of our country's development and of the consolidation of its economic potential require above all the highest discipline, and discipline which is CONSCIOUS, a high standard of execution, which would become AN ORGANIC PART of each person's behavior.

The situation which is now developing in many parts of the world can only be called explosive and extremely alarming. Peace and war are categories which betoken the greatest responsibility to future generations. TO ENSURE THAT PEACE TRIUMPHS OVER WAR, EVERYTHING MUST BE DONE TO PRESERVE PEACE. AND WE WILL BE ABLE TO PRESERVE PEACE, WE WILL BE ABLE TO DEFEND PEACE, IF WE ARE STRONG, IF OUR COUNTRY IS STILL MORE POWERFUL. We must be ready for every and any surprise, for every possible complication. And for this it is necessary to be even more vigilant, more organized, collected and disciplined. Only with this very high degree of universal readiness can war be prevented.

Comrades!

Our congress's work is coming to an end. Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow the delegates will disperse to their respective party organizations, return to their labor collectives and work stations. The duty of each one is to convey the congress's decisions, its spirit and militant mood to their party and work comrades, setting them all a personal example in implementing the decisions which have been taken, in translating them into practical deeds.

Everyone in the republic should feel: THE DELEGATE HAS RETURNED FROM THE CONGRESS:

The party congress delegate!...so much lies in these words, what deep meaning they contain: THEY IMPLY THE SUPREME TRUST OF THE PARTY AND PEOPLE. AND AT THE SAME TIME SUPREME RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PARTY AND THE DELEGATE'S OWN DEAR PEOPLE.

The party is the Soviet people's tested militant vanguard. The party congress delegate is a person who embodies all that is best, most valuable, most fine that reposes in a communist.

V. I. Lenin said of the congress delegate that "THE BEST CONGRESS DELEGATES SHOULD BE... THE MOST VIGOROUS, INFLUENTIAL COMRADES WHO MOST DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO REVOLUTIONARY WORK."

The delegates to the 26th Georgian CP Congress are just such delegates.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin's life and revolutionary activity are an inspiring, exalting example to all communists and the entire Soviet people. We strictly fulfill Lenin's instructions, follow Lenin's advice in everything, and unservingly implement Lenin's behests. We are fashioning a Lenin-style life.

OUR DEAR LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV IS AN OUTSTANDING CONTINUER OF LENIN'S CAUSE. THERE IS NO SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV IN WHICH HE DOES NOT RAISE QUESTIONS OF IMPROVING THE STYLE AND METHODS OF OUR WORK, DEEPENING DEMOCRACY AND ENHANCING PEOPLE'S ACTIVENESS. AND HE HIMSELF, THROUGH HIS PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD MATTERS, PEOPLE AND THE COLLECTIVE, ALWAYS SERVES AS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF JUST SUCH A LENINIST APPROACH. L.I. Brezhnev's true democratism, great humanity and strict exactingness are his firm inner conviction, his political credo. It is precisely these principles which he invariably asserts in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Central Committee itself, and our entire party.

At the 25th CPSU Congress it was stated that at every stage the party's work is filled with new content. The CPSU's entire work will be filled with vivid new content after its 26th congress--a very important stage in the life of our entire country and entire people.

In summing up the results of each stage, the communists always look toward the future. We are also looking into the future with you, dear comrades. This future appears bright and beautiful. We are marching with firm, confident tread, toward this future.

Our goal is clear. Our road proceeds forward and upward. Lenin's party is leading us forward.

"WE MUST GO FORWARD AND LOOK FORWARD!" [capitalized passage published in capitals]
That was what V.I. Lenin charged us.

At the CPSU Central Committee June (1980) Plenum which adopted the resolution on convening the next party congress, we recalled Lenin's instruction on the need TO BRING TO THE CONGRESS PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE THOUGHT OUT AND ATTENTIVELY WORKED OVER BY THE JOINT LABOR, BY THE JOINT EFFORTS OF ALL PARTY MEMBERS, and we assured the Central Committee plenum that the Georgian party organization would have something to bring to the 26th CPSU Congress.

We will keep our word, Comrades!

THE GEORGIAN COMMUNISTS AND ALL THE REPUBLIC'S WORKING PEOPLE ARE MARCHING TOWARD THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS FULLY DETERMINED TO WELCOME IT FITTINGLY AND TO MARK THIS VERY IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENT WITH NEW SUCCESSES IN LABOR AND NEW VICTORIES IN COMMUNIST BUILDING!

We are marching toward the 60th anniversary of the establishing of Soviet power in our republic and our autonomous regions and this will coincide with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Georgian CP--the loyal, combat detachment of the CPSU. Throughout these 60 years the Georgian CP has been marching firmly and unswervingly along Lenin's path, following Lenin's course.

One more thing in conclusion.

Probably all the delegates have viewed the display stands here in the lobby. They present the main economic indicators for all the republic's autonomous regions, cities and rayons. The fulfilled plan indicators are marked by red circles, the underfulfilled ones by black circles. Of course, it is pleasing that the overwhelming majority are red circles, but unfortunately there are also black ones.

This exhibition is specially pegged to the congress. It is a component not only of the Central Committee report to the congress but also of the collective report of all regions of the republic to the congress. We have witnessed the passion with which the delegates discussed who had many red or black circles.

We intend to keep this exhibition and to open a new one for the 27th Georgian CP Congress and compare the changes which have taken place for each region over the 5 years. It is not mere chance that I am saying this. By then I want all the circles to be red or at least for there to be fewer black spots on the display stands of each city and rayon. Let us try, comrades, to ensure that there are fewer black spots, fewer of any unpleasant black spots, both on the stands and on the conscience of some people and in life in general.

In a few hours the congress will be declared closed. However, I think I will not be wrong if I say that not one of us wants to part, each wants to be together as long as possible. Such a desire arises only in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, sincere amicability, and people's readiness to work even more vigorously and to do as much as possible and do it as well as possible for the sake of their country and people. ALL THIS IS ATTAINABLE IN THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTION REIGNS.

We ask you, comrade delegates, to accept our most sincere thanks for enriching the political experience of our party organization. We warmly and cordially thank you all, dear comrades, for the atmosphere which has been created at the congress, for your good advice, for your businesslike, sensible wishes. With all our souls and all our hearts we wish you, your comrades at work, and your families all that is best, all that is finest, also good health, joy and great happiness and new successes in labor for the benefit of our great motherland, to the glory of our Leninist party and for the triumph of communism.

KUNAYEV CONCLUDING SPEECH AT KAZAKH CONGRESS

LD181459 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 81 p 1

[Text of "Concluding Speech by Comrade D.A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, on the discussion of the Kazakh CP Central Committee report to the 15th Kazakh CP Congress" delivered at 5 February evening session]

[Text] Comrades! Our congress has completed the discussion of the Kazakh CP Central Committee report.

Expressing the will of communists and all working people of the republic, the delegates unanimously approved the party's domestic and foreign policy and the multifaceted and fruitful activity of the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo headed by that outstanding politician and statesman of the present time, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. (prolonged applause)

There has been a really businesslike discussion at our congress of ways to further boost the republic's economy, science and culture, a self-critical analysis of shortcomings has been made and measures to improve the organizational and political activity of the republic's party organization have been outlined.

If we are to summarize the results of the discussion, then, on the basis of the delegates' cogent speeches which rang out here, we can say with every confidence that it is within our capacity, comrades, to tackle the major tasks put forward in the CPSU Central Committee draft for our own dear party's 26th congress. (prolonged applause)

The congress delegates have voiced several valuable suggestions and trenchant critical remarks. Implementing these will without doubt heighten the mobilizing and ideological-educational role of party organizations and enable them to elevate their activity to a qualitatively new level.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee, the republic's Council of Ministers, the Gosplan and ministries and departments must attentively study all suggestions and remarks and on their basis take the appropriate measures.

Comrades: Soviet Kazakhstan, in the united fraternal family of republics of the land of soviets, is entering a new 5-year period which is unprecedented in the ambitiousness of its plans for communist creation. As the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th congress points out, the highest goal of these plans is the steady increase in the material and cultural living standard of the people and the creation of the best conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual.

Our duty, the duty of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia of the republic, is to consolidate the experience accumulated, to work without any laggards, to do everything to increase still further the scale of socialist competition in the first year of the new 5-year plan, and in the 5-year plan as a whole, to place the tremendous riches of Kazakhstan at the service of the Soviet people, and to tirelessly raise the efficiency of social production and the quality of work in every sector.

The attainment of this goal must be the core of all our organizational and party-political activity.

Only by enterprising and creative shock work will we achieve new successes in industry, capital construction and in the development of transportation and communications and of all sectors of the national economy, science and culture.

The republic is duty-bound to gladden the motherland and the Soviet people year after year with big harvests of Kazakh grain and to ensure a steadily increasing output of agricultural and livestock products.

In the final analysis, comrades, all this will be channeled into satisfying in every possible way the population's needs both as regards consumer goods and foodstuffs. In otherwords, it will be channeled into further enhancing Soviet man's well-being and his level of spiritual development. To achieve this noble aim we must begrudge neither resources nor energy! (prolonged applause)

Comrades! The discussion of the report has convincingly shown the lofty ideological conviction and boundless devotion of the republic's communists to the party's cause and their monolithic cohesion round its Leninist Central Committee. (prolonged applause)

We, as indeed all Soviet people, look boldly into the future, because it is in our hands, in the hands of all people of labor, who are confidently continuing the great cause bequeathed to us by Lenin! (prolonged applause)

We will continue to cherish the purity of our ranks and the Leninist friendship of the peoples like the apple of our eye, knowing that this is the source of our strength and insuperability, the guarantee of all future successes. (prolonged applause) We will always be true to the fraternal unity of the peoples of our beloved socialist fatherland. (prolonged applause)

We will do everything to strengthen the might of our motherland and of the whole socialist community for the sake of just peace throughout the world! (prolonged applause)

Allow me, comrade delegates, on your behalf to assure the Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally, that the communists and working people of Soviet Kazakhstan will do everything to successfully fulfill the 11th 5-Year Plan and thereby make a fitting contribution to building communism. (tumultuous, prolonged applause, becoming an ovation)

REPUBLIC-LEVEL OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS REPORTED

LD161605 [Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 4 February front-pages the texts of Tadzhik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees signed by Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman M. Kholov and Secretary I. Rakhimova dated 3 February, 1981, on the establishment of the Tadzhik SSR Union-Republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the appointment of K. Sufiyev as the Tadzhik SSR minister of the fruit and vegetable industry.

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian on 4 February front-pages an Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "appointing Comrade Ramiz Dzhamil Sadykov Azerbaijan SSR minister of construction materials industry."

The same paper carries on page 4 an unattributed "chronicle" stating that "by decree of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade N.A. Isayev is relieved of his duties as Azerbaijan SSR minister of construction materials industry in connection with his transfer to other work."

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 30 January reports that "Comrade Shamil Khayrulloevich Bekbulatov" has been appointed Kazakh SSR minister of highways, replacing Leonid Borisovich Goncharov who has "retired."

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian on 24 January front-pages Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees signed by Presidium Chairman I. Kebin and Secretary V. Vakht, dated 23 January, 1981, on the establishment of the Estonian SSR Union-Republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and detailing personnel actions taken by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium as follows:

"Comrade Kharald Aleksandrovich Myannik appointed Estonian minister of the fruit and vegetable industry following his release from his duties as Estonian minister of agriculture";

"Comrade Vello Nikolayevich Lind appointed Estonian minister of agriculture."

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 3 February front-pages Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees on the formation of a Georgian Union-Republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the appointment of Tengiz Konstantinovich Dzhabadari as minister of the fruit and vegetable industry, both signed by P. Gilashvili, chairman, and T. Lashrarashvili, secretary of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and dated Tbilisi, 2 February 1981.

AVIATION INDUSTRY MINISTER DIES ON 17 FEBRUARY

LD171652 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers announce with profound grief that Vasily Aleksandrovich Kazakov, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Hero of Socialist Labor, Lenin and State Prize winner of the USSR and minister of the USSR Aviation Industry, died on 17 February aged 64 after a prolonged illness. An obituary signed by the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state says that Soviet industry has suffered a severe loss. From 1978 to the last day of his life Vasily Aleksandrovich Kazakov was minister of the aviation industry. In all the posts in which he was active he showed exceptional capabilities, organizational talent and party principledness and exactingness combined with a sensitive and attentive attitude to people. By his tireless activity, Vasily Aleksandrovich Kazakov made a great contribution to the development of the aviation industry, to the solution of complex scientific and technical problems in creating new types of modern aviation technology and providing our country's armed forces and civil aviation with them.

The party and government had a high opinion of Vasily Aleksandrovich Kazakov's services to the homeland, and awarded him the title of Hero of Socialist Labor and three Orders of Lenin, the Order of Labor Red Banner and many medals.

The bright memory of Vasily Aleksandrovich Kazakov, a faithful son of the CPSU who devoted all his life to serving the homeland, will always be preserved in our hearts.

POLITBURO MEMBERS KEEP VIGIL FOR I.D. SERBIN

LD182008 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow today saw off Ivan Dmitriyevich Serbin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, head of a CPSU Central Committee department, on his last journey. In the CPSU Central Committee officials club, where the coffin with the body of the deceased was placed, a mourning vigil was kept by Comrades Andropov, Gorbachev, Kirilenko, Suslov, Ustinov, Chernenko, Kapitonov, Dolgikh, Zimyanin and Rusakov. Also in the guard of honor were responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, scientists, representatives of the working people and USSR cosmonauts.

A meeting of mourning was held at the Novodevichiy Cemetery, where Ivan Dmitriyevich Serbin was buried.

ANTHOLOGY OF LEADERS' SPEECHES, ARTICLES REVIEWED

LD191129 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 81 p 2

[Unattributed review: "The Creative Power of CPSU Policy"]

[Text] The land of the soviets has embarked on the 11th 5-Year Plan--an important new stage in the creation of communism's material and technical base, in the development of social relationships and the molding of the new man. With every day which brings us nearer to the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress, the masses' creative initiative and their labor and political activeness increase. The nationwide discussion of the draft basic guidelines was yet another graphic proof of the maturity of our socialist system, of the organic unity between progressive revolutionary theory and the practice of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the activity of Lenin's party.

Through implementing the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, our party has accumulated valuable new experience in all sectors of communist building--in leadership of the economy, enhancing the people's well-being, expanding and deepening socialist democracy, improving ideological, political-educational and party-organizational work and strengthening the Soviet state's international positions. A comprehensive analysis of this experience is offered by the materials of a new anthology entitled "The 25th CPSU Congress: Unity of Theory and Practice" ["XXV Syezd KPSS: Yedinstvo Teorii i Praktiki"] compiled from the articles and speeches of party and government leaders which were published in the first half of 1980. (note) ("The 25th CPSU Congress: Unity of Theory and Practice" issue. Moscow, Political Publishing House, 1981. 376 pages.)

In the past decade, as the book notes, the steady increase in the economic, scientific and technical potential of our motherland has continued. This has ensured the further enhancement in the people's living standard, which was and continues to be the main aim of all the activity of the party, which approaches economic tasks from a broad social positions examining the economy undivorced from the entire system of social relationships.

The works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and other materials in the anthology demonstrate convincingly that as a result of the party's great organizational and ideological-educational work in the seventies, the unity and cohesion of Soviet society has become even firmer, and they characterize in depth this main tendency in the development of the entire system of social relationships. The point in question is cohesion:

--Ideological and political, expressed in the close unity of party and people, and in nationwide approval for the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy;

--Social, the essence of which lies in the indissoluble alliance of workers, kolkhos members and the intelligentsia, in the commonality of the vital interests of all social groups and sections of the working people;

--Of our countries, nations and ethnic groups, which cohesion manifests itself in the merging of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism; in the creation of a unified, all-union national economic complex and in the beneficial interpenetration of national cultures.

"The cohesion, and unity of society," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at a meeting with the voters of Moscow City's Baumanskiy Electoral Okrug on 22 February 1980, "is the unique asset of socialism and constitutes our priceless, insuperable strength. Of course the imperialists have missiles as we do. They have a great deal of natural resources as we do. They also have talented scholars, engineers and cultural figures. But they do not, and cannot, have a united society. And let our enemies remember the lessons of history. Let them realize that the unity of the Soviet people is displayed particularly forcefully precisely when they attempt to converse with us using the language of threats."

These calm and weighty words, spoken on the eve 35th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over Fascist Germany are addressed to those reactionary imperialist forces who are now acting against detente and peace. The aggressors must always remember how the wars they unleash end. An article by D.F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, is devoted to the lessons of the Great Patriotic War and to the Soviet people's feat, of worldwide historical significance, on the front and in the rear.

The supreme aim of the Soviet state--to build a classless communist society--is one that is deeply scientific in character. A profound study of Marxism-Leninism and an ability to apply this in practice is demanded of the party cadres and all Soviet people in order to achieve this. It is only with the guidance of revolutionary theory that the period we are living through can be correctly assessed, that the trends and directions of social development for many years to come can be defined, and that we can get our proper bearings in international events. An article by M.A. Suslov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the introductory remarks delivered at an international scientific congress in Moscow by M.V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other materials included in the anthology reveal the worldwide historic significance of Leninism, which represents the creative development of Marxism in 20th century conditions and the grandeur of Lenin's ideas and of his immortal cause.

One of the main sectors of the practical implementation of Marxist-Leninist ideas is socialist economy and economic policy. In managing the economy scientifically in the interests of satisfying the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the working people, it is noted in the book, the party takes fully into account the necessity, which arises naturally in a mature socialist society, of developing the national economy above all through raising labor productivity and speeding up scientific and technical progress.

An important reserve for the increase of our social wealth is the strengthening of labor discipline and the raising of everyone's responsibility for his own work. Articles by N.A. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.I. Dolgikh, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are devoted to these issues.

The further we progress along the path of socialist building, the stronger our economy and the more prosperous the people's life becomes, so the tasks of sociopolitical, cultural, moral and aesthetic education of Soviet people and the standard and quality of ideological work assume all the greater significance. In order to prevent a breach between material and spiritual development, as is noted in the anthology, it is necessary to endow this work everywhere with the character of a scientifically based and scientifically controlled process. An article by V.V. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and other materials in the book extensively reflect ways of solving this problem.

Under conditions of mature socialism the scale and complexity of creative work are increasing and increasingly broad masses of people are being drawn into independent and vigorous historical creativity. This confronts the party with new tasks for the further development and deepening of socialist democracy. The implementation of Lenin's ideas of sovereignty of the people in our multinational country is discussed in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's aforementioned speech, in his speech at the 4 March 1980 sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the report by V.V. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 3d session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th Convocation. In articles by Sh.R. Rashidov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, by E.A. Shevardnadze candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, and I.V. Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Successes in economic and cultural building are the reliable basis of the CPSU's and Soviet state's peace-loving foreign policy. Displaying genuinely Leninist tenacity, firmness and principle, they are defending and pursuing a course of preserving peace, ensuring the security of the Soviet people and international security as a whole, holding out against provocations and at the same time repulsing different kinds of hostile campaigns--whether it is the hypocritical campaign "in defense of human rights in the socialist countries" or attempts to impute participation in "international terrorism" to the Soviet Union. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's replies to a PRAVDA correspondent's questions, the works of B.N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and of K.V. Ursakov secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which are published in the anthology attest convincingly to the fact that the CPSU is unswervingly continuing to implement the peace program.

The vanguard role of the Communist Party with Leninist boldness and on a sound scientific basis sets the immediate and long-term tasks and mobilizes Soviet people to resolve them, was and continues to be the guarantee of the Soviet people's achievements in the creation of a new society, in the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace. Relying on Lenin's teaching, the Communist Party tirelessly perfecting the forms and methods of its political and organizational work and devoting tremendous attention to the development of intraparty democracy to enhancing the adherence to ideological principle and the activeness of all communists, to observing the Leninist norms of party life and the Leninist style in the work of party, state and public organizations.

The Leninist style of work is wrought in a continuous and quite complex process, connected with the live, creative work of the party and people's masses and is constantly enriched on the basis of the further development of Marxist-Leninist teaching and of the experience of the CPSU's leadership work, as is shown in the articles by Politburo members A.Ya. Pelshe, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; K.U. Chernenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, and in other materials in the anthology.

The anthology published on the eve of the 26th party congress will indubitably attract the attention of readers--both communists and nonparty people--who are preparing to greet this portentous event in a fitting manner.

GROMYKO, PONOMAREV EDIT WORK ON FOREIGN POLICY

LD181346 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb, TASS--The publication of the fourth revised and supplemented edition of the "History of the Foreign Policy of the USSR, 1917-1980" in two volumes edited by Andrey Gromyko and Boris Ponomarev is timed to coincide with the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress.

This definitive work deals extensively with the various stages of the pursuance of the Soviet state's foreign policy from the adoption in November 1917 of the first foreign policy act of the Soviet state--the decree on peace, and to our days. The authors consistently trace the course of the Soviet state's foreign policy that is pursued under the guidance of the CPSU and is aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for building communism in the USSR, at defending the state interests of the Soviet Union, strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, at preventing aggressive wars, at the attainment of general and complete disarmament and the consistent implementation of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

A place of importance is given to coverage of the Soviet Union's efforts to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the peace program that was adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress.

PONOMAREV BOOK ON SOCIALISM PUBLISHED IN MOSCOW

LD172310 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1759 GMT 17 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)--A book by Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "The Living and Effective Teaching of Marxism-Leninism," has been published here.

The book traces the main patterns of the development of society in the basic regions of modern times, discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, in the world of victorious socialism in the countries which have freed themselves from the imperialist yoke and have won state independence, and in the capitalist part of the world. There is a profound examination of the basic problems of contemporary social progress and a decisive rebuff is given to opponents of Marxism-Leninism; the class basis of anti-Marxist lies is exposed and there is scientific criticism of the pseudoscientific structures of bourgeois ideologists.

CONGRATULATIONS SENT TO KUZNETSOV ON 80TH BIRTHDAY

LD121840 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers have congratulated Vasily Vasilyevich Kuznetsov, eminent figure of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, on his 80th birthday. The greetings message states:

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USSR NATIONAL AFFAIRS
POLITICAL & SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

In all your offices of party and state work you have devoted your efforts and experience to selfless service to the cause of building communism and the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism. From all our hearts we wish you, our dear friend and Comrade Vasiliy Vasilyevich, long life, good health and further fruitful work for the benefit of our party and the Soviet people in the name of the triumph of communism.

For his great services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and in connection with his 80th birthday, Vasiliy Vasilyevich Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Hero of Socialist Labor, has been awarded the Order of Lenin and a Second Gold Hammer and Sickle Medal.

AFP QUOTES SOVIET POLICEMAN ON BOMB INCIDENT

NC191050 Paris AFP in English 1036 GMT 19 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 19 Feb (AFP)--Soviet authorities today dismissed unconfirmed reports circulating here that an official car blew up recently near the headquarters of the KGB secret police, killing the driver and a passenger.

Rumours had been circulating for two weeks that a parcel bomb had exploded in an official Volga limousine on Kirov Street.

Unofficial sources said the passenger was an officer, but did not suggest his identity.

Questioned by the foreign press today, a Communist Party Central Committee spokesman described the rumour as "pure invention", adding that the reports would appear to be "provocation" before the upcoming 26th party congress. However a police source admitted to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE today that "something happened in the zone of Commissariat 68".

The KGB refused to comment on the reports and foreign observers in the Soviet capital remain divided between the hypothesis of a bombing and that of a banal accident.

ESTONIAN DISSIDENTS' 'OPEN LETTER' REPORTED

LD180921 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 10 Feb 81 p 4

[Ingmar Lindmarker report: "Soviet Union Stifling Nation"]

[Text] An appeal by 40 intellectuals in Estonia which has been smuggled to the West calls for a halt to the Russification of the country and warns that growing hatred between Estonians and Russians could "make peaceable social development impossible."

The phrasing of the document is reminiscent of Charter 77 from Czechoslovakia and the calls for self-determination which have been made by the Polish Solidarity trade union movement.

The toughness of the attack is shown by the fact that the 40, who are said to have won general support from all circles of the Estonian population, direct their attack against the Russian presence in the republic. It calls for measures "which would lessen Estonian worries for the future and which guarantee that Estonia's native population will always have the last word on the country's and people's destiny."

The appeal of the 40, as the document is commonly called in Estonia, was signed on 28 October last year and was sent as an open letter to PRAVDA in Moscow and to two Estonian newspapers. For understandable reasons it was never published in the Soviet Union but has now reached SVENSKA DAGBLADET among others via Estonian exile sources.

Tallinn sources say that Estonian CP First Secretary Karl Vayno was furious when he heard of the letter. His first reaction is said to have been to have the group arrested and punished. The group does not comprise previously known dissidents but some of Estonia's best-known cultural personalities.

All 40 are said to have been called to "talks" with the KGB, but the consequences have otherwise been mild--by all accounts on Moscow's instructions. Some of the signatories are said to have been forced to retract their names, while some have been granted permission to make previously planned trips to the West.

The appeal, which is described as unique in the Baltic states since the Soviet annexation in 1940, is a surprisingly outspoken analysis of the situation in Estonia. It was written after weeks of widespread and in part violent demonstrations by Estonian students and school children against the Russification of Estonia.

During 1980 there was also an ideological tightening up, with orders from the party to hasten and intensify the Russification campaign. At the same time the Russian-born Estonian Vayno has sharpened his tone against what he calls nationalist narrow-mindedness and political immaturity in preparation for the Soviet party congress in Moscow in a few weeks' time.

The appeal of the 40 takes the side of the protesting school children and aims serious criticism at the Soviet policy in Estonia. They mention that the dissatisfaction is caused by economic problems and social injustices which cause alcoholism, crime and family breakdowns and point to "the question of nationality" as a fundamental cause.

In doing so the appeal raises a question which is not allowed to be discussed openly in the Soviet republics, namely the conflict between the Russian masters and the native populations. It speaks of the conflict between the governing and the governed, of the "muddle" with regard to human rights in Estonia, of mistrust and hatred between Russians and Estonians.

The appeal points to the enormous influx of Russian immigrants, which has led to a situation in which the Estonians are now in the minority in the capital, Tallinn. Estonian is being forced to give way to Russian, the appeal says, for example, through the stipulation that even doctoral dissertations on Estonian language and literature must be written in Russian.

The 40 are now protesting against the fact that Russian language and history are being forced on Estonian school children at the expense of their own culture, that the Soviet Union [as published] is plundering Estonia's natural resources, that non-Estonians with no knowledge of Estonian culture are being appointed to leading posts and that there is a lack of Estonian newspapers and magazines.

The document is pervaded by a strong nationalism and reflects a widespread contempt of the Russian interlopers. Observers in Stockholm link it directly with the youth revolt last fall, but do not exclude the possibility that events in Poland could have influenced the signatories.

The appeal of the 40 states among other things:

"To avoid a repetition of such events as took place in Tallinn and to reduce tension between groups within the population, measures should be adopted which could lessen Estonians' concern for the future and guarantee that Estonia's native population will always have the final word on the fate of the country and the people.

"The question of Estonia's future should be decided not only by the central government in Moscow. Conflicts of nationality could easily lead to distrust and growing hatred and also make peaceable social development impossible."

COSMOS-1246 SATELLITE LAUNCHED SUCCESSFULLY

LD181404 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)--Today the Soviet Union launched an artificial earth satellite Cosmos-1246.

The satellite has on board scientific equipment intended for continuing the space research.

The satellite's original period of revolution is 89.2 minutes, maximum distance from the earth--292 kilometers, minimal--202 kilometers and the orbit's inclination is 64.9 degrees.

The equipment on board the satellite functions normally.

PROGNOZ-8 SPACE STATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS NOTED

LD181438 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 18 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb, TASS--The Soviet automatic space station, Prognoz-8, which was put into orbit on December 25, 1980, has helped obtain new information on solar wind's interaction with the earth's magnetosphere. The station also sent back to earth new interesting data on the fine structure of the boundaries of the magnetosphere.

The Prognoz-8 was sent up in order to study solar activity and its influence on the interplanetary medium and the earth's magnetosphere. The station has on board apparatus made in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Sweden. Investigations are conducted within the framework of international cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space.

As is known, during its period of activity the sun ejects a mass of high-energy charged particles. These particles, which possess a high penetrating capacity, get into the earth's magnetosphere. Nor is their penetration into the cabins of spaceships excluded. The questions of man's radiation safety are acquiring primary importance with the development of space flights. Data coming from on board the Prognoz-8 help solve these questions.

A great amount of information on the state of the sun and the earth's magnetic field have been received during the nine years since the first automatic station of the Prognoz series was launched. This information helps scientists make more precise "space weather" forecasts, which is very important for choosing the most favourable time for launching spacecraft.